Glasgow's Queer Battleground

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Abstract

As LGBTQ rights have gained increasing acceptance in Western countries, Pride events have come to stand as examples of the complex reality of inclusion in public space as it is experienced by contemporary LGBTQ groups. This thesis takes the case study of Glasgow, Scotland, between 2015 and 2016, to examine a grassroots activist intervention into how Pride events queer public space. The group Free Pride critiqued the mainstream Pride event organised by the group Pride Glasgow, and created its own alternative event. This thesis analyses the debates in Glasgow to examine the extent to which the concepts of homonormativity and queer space can help us understand this contestation. Drawing on archival research, participant observation, and interviews with the key players in Free Pride, this thesis argues that debates surrounding homonormativity and Pride can be understood through three key discursive themes of radical politics, commodification, and exclusion. This thesis argues first that while Free Pride has legitimate grounds to critique Pride Glasgow, Pride Glasgow's spaces are more complex than a critique of being homonormative allows. And second, that while Free Pride works to open up new possibilities for 'queerer' spaces and identities in Glasgow, this process is complex and contradictory.

Queer Space, Homonormativity, LGBT Pride, Public Space

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Figures and Illustrations

Chapter 1

Glasgow's Queer Battleground: Introduction

1.1 Glasgow's Pride War

> Well, well, well… If you had told me last month I would be writing about Glasgow's Pride War, I wouldn't have believed you. But we do love a good rammy[1] in our fair city. (Bea Fiarse*, Scotsgay,* Issue 164, 2015)

'Glasgow's Pride War', as it is dubbed by local media, is a conflict in Scotland between Pride organising groups Pride Glasgow and Free Pride over how Pride events ought to be using, and 'queering', public space in the city. Public space should be fairly and democratically open to all members of the public, who as citizens have a right to use space for living public lives (Lefebvre, 1996; Mitchell, 2003). However, the regulation of public space can be seen to reinforce inequality, and its governance is and has always been contested by different social groups (Low and Smith, 2006; Staeheli and Mitchell, 2007). Pride events are widely understood as events by and for the Lesbian, Gay, Bi, and Trans (LGBT)[2] community that create temporary queer spaces to push back against the exclusion of people with non-normative genders and sexualities from public space (Brickell, 2000; Podmore, 2001). They queer public space by, among other things, demonstrating the straightness[3] of the space through making visible LGBT identities, practices, and performances (Valentine, 1993, 1996).

Pride events do not only populate space with LGBT people, they produce space and identities within them *as* LGBT, so there is an expectation that only certain types of people will be supported within them (Valentine, 2002; Aldrich, 2004; Johnston, 2005; Enguix, 2009). Given Sedgwick's (1990) contention that people with the same sexual identity experience

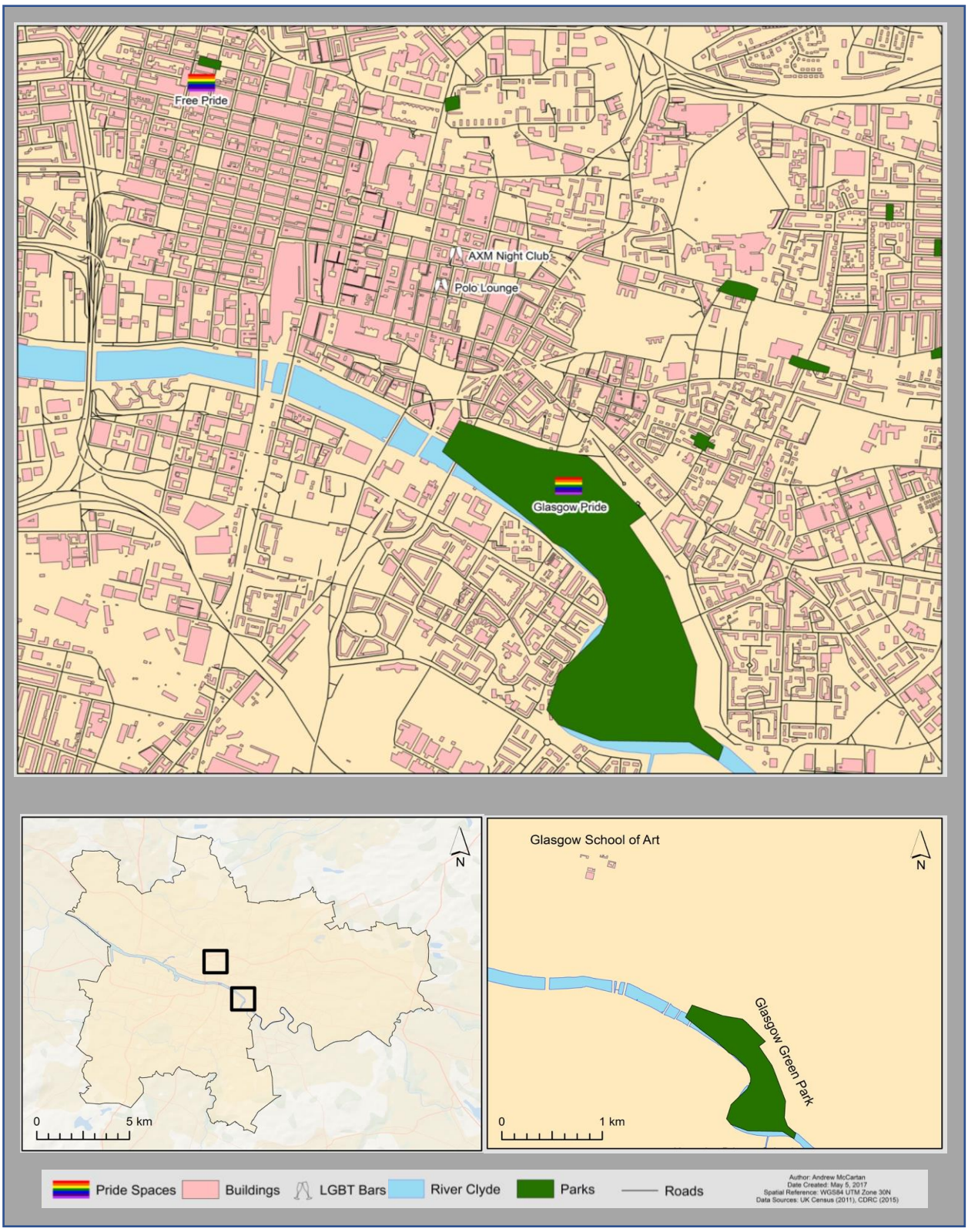
[1] A "rammy" is a Scottish slang word to describe a fight or party that is rowdy and out of control.

[2] Lesbian refers to women who are sexually and/or romantically attracted to other women; Gay refers to men who are sexually and/or romantically attracted to other men; Bi refers to individuals who are attracted sexually and/or romantically to people of more than one gender, usually including men and women; and Trans refers to individuals with a different gender identity from that which they were assigned at birth. The LGBT acronym is used in this thesis as it is arguably the most commonly used and most well-known acronym to describe the grouping of this community of people and the political movement surrounding them. However, it is not the only one and it has its limitations, particularly in prioritising certain identities over others (See, for example, Worthen, 2012).

[3] Straight is another word for heterosexual, which describes cisgendered men who are sexually and/or romantically attracted only to cisgendered women, and cisgendered women who are sexually and/or romantically attracted only to cisgendered men. Cisgendered refers to individuals with the same gender identity that they were assigned at birth.

their sexuality differently, it is unsurprising that different LGBT people desire to spatially engage with their sexuality and gender identity differently at Pride. Therefore, geographers concerned with the spatialities of LGBT lives and activism, have engaged in debates over who feels "in place" and/or "out of place" during Pride events (Johnston and Waitt, 2015: 108). Research on Glasgow's Pride war has the potential to significantly contribute to this debate as, at its core, it concerns arguments over why a part of Glasgow's LGBT community may feel out of place at Pride, and how they make themselves feel in place through alternative space-making activism. This thesis contributes a case study of debates surrounding inclusions and exclusions at Pride events in the context of Glasgow, while also offering an analytical contribution into the usefulness of certain academic concepts for understanding the claims made by Glasgow's Pride organizing groups.

In the contemporary period, mainstream Pride events continue to challenge the oppressions arising from the constitution of public spaces through hegemonic expectations about normative sexual and gendered identities (Johnston, 2005). However, less attention has been given to challenges to LGBT normativities produced within Pride spaces and attempts to provide alternative venues designed to counter these limitations (Enguix, 2009). Pride Glasgow has been organising Glasgow's main Pride event since 2004, in the form of a parade through Glasgow city centre followed by a festival in the city's Glasgow Green park (see map 1). The 'Pride war' started with the emergence of the grassroots group Free Pride in the summer of 2015, a group for which I was one of the many founding members. Free Pride formed with a specific critique of the activities of Pride Glasgow that focusses on the post-parade festival spaces. Alongside critiquing Pride Glasgow's festival spaces, Free Pride also works to produce its own alternative Pride spaces to counter the problems it sees with Pride Glasgow. In this thesis, I examine Free Pride's critique of Pride Glasgow, together with Free Pride's efforts to create alternative spaces that attempt to ameliorate some of the perceived limitations and exclusions of Pride Glasgow events.



Map 1: Glasgow's Pride Spaces 2015-16. The map on the top row shows the location of Free Pride in Glasgow's Art School venue, the location of Pride Glasgow in Glasgow Green park, and the locations of LGBT Nightclubs Polo Lounge and AXM, all within the city center of Glasgow. The bottom two maps show the locations of the two venues within the wider area of Glasgow.

1.2 Thesis Argument

In my findings, I argue first that Free Pride's critique of Pride Glasgow can be theoretically understood as a pushback against homonormativity, with the group aiming to challenge what it perceives as homonormative space at Pride Glasgow. However, by comparing its critique to observations at Pride Glasgow's events, I complicate this argument by contending that Pride Glasgow's spaces are more complex and fragmented than a simple critique grounded in claims about homonormativity allows. In this case, the term homonormativity describes the upholding of dominant heteronormative assumptions and practices within LGBT politics (Duggan, 2002). Homonormativity is thus the constitutive relationship between LGBT identities and lifestyle ideals formed around respectable goals of monogamy, domesticity, consumption, and adherence to normative gender roles (Duggan, 2002). Therefore, homonormative spaces are spaces which prioritise LGBT individuals who understand their identities within these expectations. I argue that while Free Pride may have legitimate grounds to critique Pride Glasgow as homonormative, this homonormativity is not all encompassing, and its contingency is highlighted, not just by the actions of Free Pride, but the actions of others in the spaces.

Second, I argue that through its critique and creation of new alternative spaces, Free Pride works to open up new possibilities for more broadly 'queerer' spaces and identities in Glasgow, in that they attempt to make room for spaces and identities beyond those perceived as homonormative. However, I highlight how this process is complex and not without its own set-backs, tensions, and critiques. The focus is not on determining or measuring whether Free Pride spaces are successfully more 'queer' than Pride Glasgow spaces, as this would be an almost impossible task to prove. Rather, the focus is on detailing the critiques, strategies, possibilities and limitations operative in Free Pride's efforts to constitute spaces more consciously supportive of queer identities beyond homonormativity. In terms of approach, the goal is to analyse the different understandings of LGBT identities and interrelated spaces within the queer battleground, and to consider them in relation to academic debates on homonormativity and queer space.

These arguments draw on and contribute to the broader scholarship on Pride that debates the commodification of identity and the means of visibility and representation for non-normative sexual and gender identities in public space (Kates and Belk, 2001; Browne 2007; Johnston,

2007; Enguix, 2009). They build on scholarship that argues Pride events are increasingly assimilationist, commodified, and exclusionary within neoliberal public spaces (Taylor, 2014). They also extend current work examining alternative queer space-making (Brown, 2009; Rouhani, 2012) and queer activist push back against assimilation (Halperin, 2009; Silverstone, 2012) by examining a case of temporary queer space-making in the specific context of Pride. In doing so, it fills a gap in current debates over who feels out of place at Pride by shifting attention to activist interventions and so opens up a new perspective on the debate.

To make these arguments, I draw on queer theoretical scholarship that conceptualises identity as performed and contested (Sedgwick, 1990, 1993; Butler, 1990), and queer geographical literature that engages with queer theory to conceptualise a power-laden and recursive relationship between sexuality, identity, and space (Nash, 2005, 2006; Johnston and Waitt, 2015). Identities are the partial, shifting, and never complete attributes subjects assign to themselves, or have assigned to them by others, that make legible their subjective and social positions (Hall, 1996). Subscribing to an identity within identity categories already known renders subjectivity intelligible, but also renders subjects as governable (Hall, 1996). Queer theory questions the agency subjects have in assigning identity categories to themselves, arguing, at its most extreme, that subjects have no agency to do so, and, at its least extreme, that there is limited agency. The assertion is that identities are not chosen but stabilized through the disciplined repetition of performative acts, governed by dominant heteronormative discourses in public spaces, for which there is only a limited amount of possible choices (Butler, 1990).

The "Queer Battleground" title of this thesis comes from Nash's argument that public spaces see a countless number of battles 'fought over the social, political, and cultural meanings' attributed to the presence of LGBT individuals in these spaces (2005, p. 2). Conceptually, I argue that the 'pride war' we see in Glasgow is one such 'queer battleground' happening within the LGBT community. In this battleground, competing discourses over sexual and gender identities in public space are embedded within power relations operative in these public spaces, with each struggling to become the dominant discourse of Pride in Glasgow. Each group has its own set of discourses surrounding Pride that constitutes its understanding of queer identities, and this becomes embedded in the material spaces of their events.

In this thesis, I focus on how Free Pride and Pride Glasgow's distinctive discourses can be understood through the examination of three key interrelated themes: (i) radical politics (ii) commodification, and (iii) exclusion. By radical politics, I refer to politics that seek to resist and exist outside of normative societal structures (Warner, 1999; Highyelman, 2002). The theme refers to arguments that Pride events have strayed from the radical politics of Pride's history by currently being invested in discourses of normalcy and assimilation. By commodification, I refer to the arguments that neoliberal processes have turned LGBT spaces into locations to be consumed at a price (Bell and Binnie, 2000; Kates and Belk, 2002). I also refer to the arguments that Pride participants in these spaces become commodities to be sold to sponsors, and that they 'buy' into their identity through consumption of the Pride spaces (Kates and Belk, 2002; Hughes, 2006) By exclusionary practices, I refer to how homonormative expectations resulting from assimilationist politics and commodification arguably exclude people along the lines of class, race, ability, age, gender and sexuality (Taylor, 2014; Johnston and Waitt, 2015). These key themes were initially drawn from the academic literature as the three major critiques emerging from arguments that Pride events produce and reinforce homonormativity by becoming assimilationist, commodified, and exclusionary. Critical discursive analysis of my collected data demonstrates these themes also emerge as the major or dominant critiques in the Glasgow debates central to my case study. As such, they provide the analytical framing for building my arguments.

As well as using these three key interrelated themes to examine in detail how Free Pride critiqued Pride Glasgow and set up its own space, this thesis also analyses the ways Free Pride's activism seeks to rethink dominant normative expectations surrounding sexual and gender identities and practices in Glasgow's Pride spaces. Following an understanding that spaces, subjects and identities are recursively constituted through discourses, certain dominant sexual and gender norms may be destabilized by resistive LGBT performativity in public (Nash, 2006). However, the subversive potential of LGBT performativity is lost when performances are 'domesticated' or disciplined to conform to and reproduce (homo)normativities (Butler, 1990). I argue here that Free Pride's intervention exposes the contingency of the homonormativity it perceives at Pride Glasgow through the creation of new spaces that make possible a resistive alternative. The constitution of these spaces with an aim to have less normative expectations creates possibilities for spaces and identities that can be considered closer to being queer (Reed, 1996). Queer space is understood in this thesis to

be space that is fluid, contingent, multiple, and "the collective creation of queer people" (Reed, 1996: 64).

However, I should acknowledge that while my thesis takes a queer theoretical framework understanding identity to be unfixed, this is not how Free Pride frames its understanding of identity in its activism. Free Pride understands a need to retain identity categories for the political purpose of ensuring the visibility and inclusion of underrepresented marginalised identities within the LGBT community.

My research uses the Glasgow's pride war in 2015 and 2016 as a case study, framed within the following three research questions:

> 1) What are the dominant discourses underpinning Free Pride's critique of Pride Glasgow and the two groups' differing understandings of how pride events should be queering public space?
>
> 2) How does Free Pride constitute its alternative queer public spaces in light of its understanding of queer identities that frames this use of public space?
>
> 3) What are the implications of the constitution of Glasgow's Pride spaces in terms of expectations, norms, identities and possibilities 'of being' in the various public locations established by Free Pride and Pride Glasgow?

Methodologically, a case study approach was chosen to produce a nuanced understanding of the reality of Pride space-making at the grassroots level in Glasgow, that would pay attention to place-specific activism in the constitution of spaces and identities (Flyvbjerg, 2006). The data necessary to answer these questions within the case study, were gathered using archival research, interviewing, and participant observation. The collected data were then analysed using a critical discourse analysis, to pay attention to the multiple and varied discourses constituting the meanings Free Pride and Pride Glasgow assert in the constitution of Pride spaces.

1.3 Context: Has Pride Lost its Way?

The arguments of this thesis are a timely intervention into contemporary debates surrounding the purpose of Pride that are unfolding across North America and Europe. Contestations over how space is used at Pride events, and who is allowed in the spaces, have received prominent coverage in recent years, both by mainstream news outlets and LGBT press. These debates, currently arising at the grassroots level in many locations across the West, position this thesis at an opportune moment for bridging grassroots and academic thought.

Prior to Pride in London in 2017, prominent British LGBT rights campaigner and co-founder of the UK's first Pride event in 1972, Peter Tatchell asked whether the event had "lost its way" (Tatchell, 2017). For Tatchell, recent Pride events have felt increasingly "regimented, commodified, straitjacketed" and "dumbed down" compared to those in the 1970s (Tatchell, 2017). His critique was firstly focused on how Pride's relationship with the city has resulted in "restrictions, costs, and red tape" being placed on the event by the city "that are strangling Pride" (Tatchell, 2017). Secondly, he focused on how Pride in London made use of public space within these restrictions. In arguing that the "liberation ethos" of earlier Pride events had become lost from "the heart of Pride", he noted that the use of public space at the event now reflected "the wishes of the city authorities, not the LGBT community" (Tatchell, 2017). Tatchell suggests that although gay men kissing in public space at Pride is no longer illegal, this increased acceptance of LGBT people has resulted in the political potential of the event has been replaced with a desire to be a "commercialized, bureaucratic, rule-bound event" (Tatchell, 2017).

Tatchell's critique of Pride in London is not new. In recent years, many think pieces by journalists and activists have surfaced online around the time of Pride to critique the event's commercialisation and toned-down politics. For example, a 2016 piece titled "has commercialisation ruined gay pride?" discussed a disengagement between Pride in London and the political history of the queer movement brought about by an increased corporatization of the event (Scottee, 2016). Further, a 2012 piece asked "Is Pride today about gay rights or just partying?", and explored the growing focus on celebration and entertainment at Pride events over protesting (Laughland, 2012). The critique is also not unique to London. Similar critiques have arisen from journalists and activists in San Francisco (Leven, 2016), New York City (Severson, 2017), and elsewhere.

If the question is, as Tatchell asked, whether Pride has lost its way, then there is no unified answer. For some Pride organisers and participants, the answer is no. These proponents feel the events have adapted well to remain relevant in the present day, and that such critiques of Pride are largely unavoidable due to both the present neoliberal political landscape and the high costs of running the events (Browne and Bakshi, 2013). Other Pride organisers, however, have answered yes. These groups, for example Pride Winnipeg in Manitoba, Canada, have taken action to alter the way they hold their events in recognition of the critiques of Pride. The theme for the 2017 Pride Winnipeg event was "Resurgence: Taking Back Space". Writing online, the organisers explained that:

> Resurgence is defined as: a rising again into life, activity, or prominence. Over the past decades, the Pride movement evolved from one of protest and demonstration, to one of celebration… It is important that we refocus our efforts to ensure that no members of the community are left behind (Pride Winnipeg, Website, 2017).

This focus on reclaiming space at Pride is more often seen by activists not associated with Pride organising groups. Some activists who feel Pride has lost its way, will reclaim Pride spaces by using their local Pride events to forward their own political purpose. An example is a group of activists who used New York City's Pride celebrations in 2015 to distribute a leaflet titled "Still Here, Still Queer". Their leaflet contained 14 short essays by queer writers that called out the assimilationist politics of the LGBT movement (Osborne, 2015). Other activists will instead aim to disrupt their local Pride events to reclaim the space temporarily. This is usually done by blocking Pride march routes with banners and chants that draw attention to a particular issue. One example is Black Lives Matter Toronto stopping the Toronto Pride march in 2016 to demand changes regarding police presence and diversity at the event (Craven, 2016). Another is the No Justice No Pride protestors who disrupted the 2017 D.C. Capital Pride Parade in the USA to protest the way the event marginalises minorities within the LGBT community (Stein and Bui, 2017). A final tactic to reclaim Pride space is to create new alternative spaces that offer another vision of how Pride events could be using space. For example, organisers of Pride de Nuit, an alternative Pride event in Paris, France, created the event in response to problems with the city's main Pride event. Their event is a political rally in which speakers from a vast range of activist groups come together

to forward a politics that does "not conform to the dominant norms" of the LGBT movement (Paris de Nuit, 2017).

Present day Pride events in Western countries thus highlight contentious issues reciprocally forming tensions and divisions within the LGBT community. The question of whether or not Pride has lost its way considers the purpose of Pride and the political direction in which it should be heading. The 'Pride War' in Glasgow is a contemporary example that offers insight into two opposing sides of the debate within the spatial context of Scotland's largest city. This thesis focuses on the response from Free Pride to interrogate how the creation of alternative Pride spaces challenges the direction of Pride. Its findings offer one in-depth look into the set of debates surrounding Pride currently prominent throughout North America and Europe (Laughland, 2012; Scottee, 2016, Leven, 2016; Severson, 2017; Tatchell, 2017)

1.4 Background: Pride in Glasgow

Previous and current phases in the LGBT movement have been well documented in the US context, as will be discussed in chapter 2. Little has been written about the Scottish experience, however some work has been done to document the history of the Scottish LGBT movement (see Dempsey, 1998; Meek, 2015). This work has not touched on Pride in Scotland, although within geography there is some work on experiences of Pride participants at Pride in Edinburgh (Johnston, 2007). I add to the literature the following brief history of Pride in Scotland, drawn from feature articles written in the pages of *Scotsgay*, a Scottish LGBT media publication, from 1994 onwards, and collected during the archival research for this project.

Despite there being Pride events in England since 1972, Pride events in Scotland did not appear until 1994. The lack of Pride events in Scotland in the 1970s and 80s may largely be explained by the strength of anti-gay imagination in Scotland such that the possibility of Pride events was non-existent (Meek, 2015). In the 2016 BBC Documentary "Coming oot! A fabulous history of gay Scotland", Scottish author George Logan contemplates:

> One of the things that was specifically Scottish about straight people's attitude to the gay subculture was that you shouldn't be gay if you're a Scot, because we're all

> terribly butch – we're men's men. And it was thought that poofs[4] actually belonged south of the border somewhere, the further south the better – down in London (BBC, 2016).

This meant that Scotland's 'poofs' had to travel south over the border to celebrate Pride and, to facilitate this, Scottish LGBT groups arranged transport for people from Scotland to attend Pride in London (*Scotsgay*, Issue 4, 1995). This suggests that there was a desire for locals in Glasgow to attend Pride, and indicates that Scottish LGBT people felt compelled to attend Pride, despite the time and capital this endeavour cost. Even after Pride events occurred in Scotland, transporting Scotland's LGBT people to their nearest Pride event continued, with buses organised to transport local LGBT people from other places in Scotland to the events in Glasgow and Edinburgh (*Scotsgay*, Issue 42, 2001).

Alistair Dinnie, Chair of Pride Scotland Limited was quoted in *Scotsgay* magazine as saying:

> Back in 1994, when a small group of people formed Pride Scotland, there were many people who said it would be impossible to hold a Pride in Scotland. It was said that there was no LGBT community; that no one would openly march through a Scottish city; and that the councils would block any plans for a festival. But we are now one of the largest marches in the country and have an annual attendance nudging ten thousand (*Scotsgay*, Issue 26, 1999).

The first Pride event in Scotland was held in Edinburgh in 1995, to commemorate the Stonewall Riots that took place in New York City in 1969 and are considered to be the birth of the Pride movement (Johnston, 2007). Between 1995 and 2002, Pride events were organised by a group named Pride Scotland, established by university students from the University of Edinburgh and functioning totally on donations and sponsorship (*Scotsgay*, Issue 4, 1995). In these years, the event alternated annually between Edinburgh and Glasgow. Aiming to 'turn the Clyde pink', the first Pride event in Glasgow was held the following year on 22nd June 1996, with some 6,000 people coming together in the city's Glasgow Green park (see Map 1). The organisers anticipated that the event would "bring city centre Glasgow

[4] Poof is a Scottish slang word for a homosexual man.

to a standstill, accompanied by drumming, whistle blowing, banner waving and chants" (*Scotsgay*, Issue 9, 1996).

Reports in *Scotsgay* from early events suggest that Pride Scotland did not intend to mobilize a specific political campaign, however they do show that Pride Scotland supported various initiatives over the years, including the 'scrap the section' campaign leading up to the repeal of Section 28 the year 2000[5]. Between the years of 1998 and 2006 they gave out the Ian Dunn Memorial Award for Activism, at the annual Pride Scotland awards. Despite this nod to activism, early Pride events in Scotland focussed more on the celebratory aspect of Pride as opposed to being political: "Pride Scotland isn't really a protest - it's a celebration of being what we are" (*Scotsgay*, Issue 40, 2001). During the early years, there was an expectation that the event would grow into a bigger and better party. However, after the first few years of successfully organising "a small but perfectly formed march followed by a large hedonistic outdoor festival" the event was quickly turning into "a similar march followed by not an awful lot" (*Scotsgay*, Issue 41, 2001).

From the outset, Pride Scotland struggled due to a lack of finances and support for the organisers. Tensions over finances and event content heightened in 1998, with London Pride being cancelled because it was dominated by the commercial interests of Pride Events UK, a company set up to profit from the 1998 London Pride (*Scotsgay*, Issue 23, 1998). Some in Scotland argued that the failure of London Pride in 1998 was "what happens when the festival is organised for rather than by the community," and should serve as a warning to keep Pride Scotland running "on a voluntary, open and accountable basis" free from corporate influence (*Scotsgay*, Issue 23, 1998). However, Pride Scotland's financial troubles proved too much. In 2002, they decided to introduce ticket prices for the first time to cover its costs, but went into receivership after not being able to recover from a lower than expected turn-out to the ticketed event (*Scotsgay*, Issue 53, 2003).

With Pride Scotland gone, it was now "really down to us [Glasgow's LGBT community] to organise" (*Scotsgay*, Issue 46, 2002). An announcement in *Scotsgay* called for a public meeting "to work out what we want for [the future of] Pride [in Scotland] and how we can

[5] Section 28 was part of the Local Government Act 1988 affecting England, Wales and Scotland which stated that a local authority could not intentionally promote homosexuality or teach in schools that homosexuality was acceptable as a pretended family relationship.

best achieve it with the limited funds, personnel and time at our disposal" (*Scotsgay*, Issue 46, 2002). The meeting resulted in the formation of a new group, Pride Scotia. Pride Scotia went on to organise events between 2003 and 2007 at no cost to participants (*Scotsgay*, Issue 51a, 2003). Changes in organisational structure from Pride Scotland to Pride Scotia allowed the event to overcome earlier struggles and begin to rebuild the festival year on year. Eventually, Pride Scotia split into two groups, Pride Scotia Edinburgh and Pride Scotia Glasgow to arrange the events in their respective cities. Pride Scotia Glasgow, later rebranded as Pride Glasgow, has organised Pride since 2008. Pride Glasgow's current event follows the same basic agenda as earlier Pride events consisting of a march followed by a festival in the park.

2014 was a pivotal year in terms of how Pride Glasgow approached organising Pride. In that year, Glasgow hosted the Commonwealth Games. Due to Glasgow Green,a city park used by Pride Glasgow to host its events (see map 1 on page 3), being used for events related to the games, Pride Glasgow was not able to use it and the 2014 event took place in an empty car park on King Street. Pride Glasgow introduced ticket fees to attend the after-parade festival, claiming the presence of the Commonwealth Games resulted in higher than usual event costs (Pride Glasgow, Facebook A, 2014). Further tensions came to light between the group and the City Council over funding and support. Just the previous year, Pride Glasgow had publically requested Glasgow City Council not to fly the Pride flag on the day of Pride as was usual out of frustration at the Council's lack of support (Duffy, 2013).

But while the ticketing of Pride events may have come out of frustration at the council, it resulted in growing frustration for some members of the LGBT community. A small number of individual activists, un-associated with any LGBT group, picketed the main entrance of the ticketed 2014 event with signs and chants denouncing the entry cost and the commercialisation it seemingly represented. Despite the small backlash on the entry prices, local drag queen Bee Fiarse Beaujambes, who fronted Pride Glasgow's 2014 advertising campaign and hosted the main event, said that the event would "be the most important in our history" (*Scotsgay*, Issue 146, 2014). For Pride Glasgow, the Commonwealth Games offered an opportunity to send a message to the leaders of the 41 commonwealth nations where being LGBT was illegal, that they should treat their own citizens with respect by showing them "who we are and what we have fought for" (*Scotsgay*, Issue 146, 2014). To this end, Pride Glasgow teamed up with Scottish LGBTQ lobbying group the Equality Network to hold an

International LGBT Human Rights Conference at Glasgow University five days before the opening ceremony of the Commonwealth Games, and a day before Pride Glasgow's event (*Scotsgay*, Issue 148, 2014). The Commonwealth countries were thus served a reminder that Scotland has greater LGBT acceptance than other places in the Commonwealth. While Pride events in Eastern Europe and elsewhere continue to face considerable resistance, Scotland's Pride scene continues to grow. Pride events have been occurring in Aberdeen since 2002, with West Lothian Pride and Alloa Pride setting up in 2015 and 2016 respectively.

Free Pride set up in 2015, when Pride Glasgow continued to charge entry fees. This thesis uses the 2015 and 2016 Pride events as a case study of the debates around the purpose of Pride, the specific critiques made by Free Pride, and its efforts to constitute more inclusionary spaces. It was in these two years that the queer 'battleground' emerged.

1.5 Thesis Organisation

This thesis is structured as follows: In Chapter 2, I locate my research within relevant scholarship, and discuss my contribution to the literature. This chapter lays out the queer theoretical groundwork I use to develop my argument and my nuanced understanding of Pride and alternative queer spaces in Glasgow. I first turn to scholarship on LGBT activism and queer theory, to discuss the development of queer activism and conceptualisations of identity, before giving an overview of how queer theory has been taken up by geographers. I then discuss the core literature on public space and the geography literature on sexuality and space, to build a framework for understanding how Pride events use and queer space. Lastly, I consider the geography scholarship examining Pride events which details claims that mainstream Pride events have lost the radical nature of their politics, that this has been driven by commodification, and that this has resulted in exclusions. This scholarship suggests these are the three core themes to analyse how Pride Glasgow's spaces might be considered as homonormative, and connecting this with the literature on queer space provides the framework for assessing how Free Pride's space is disrupting homonormativity and opening up new possibilities for increasingly queered spaces.

In Chapter 3, I discuss the case study methodology of the project. I outline my research questions and how they developed from the queer theoretical framework discussed in the previous chapter. I then outline the methods used to answer these questions, that being

archival research, interviews with key informants, and participant observation. Taking each one in turn, I discuss the appropriateness of the method for collecting the evidence needed to answer my research questions. I then discuss how I used a critical discourse analysis to tease out the dominant discourses underpinning Free Pride's critique as well as its development of alternative spaces. I end this chapter by discussing how I have dealt with my positionality as a previous member of Free Pride, and more generally as a queer individual myself.

In Chapters 4 and 5, I present my research findings to show how my data answers my three research questions, and in doing so I develop my argument. Chapter 4 focusses on the spaces of Pride Glasgow. First, I use data from my archival research and participant observation to examine how Pride Glasgow's event spaces manifested in 2015 and 2016. Second, I use data from interviews and participant observation to analyse Free Pride's critique of these spaces, following the three core themes from the literature. From this analysis, I show how Pride Glasgow's spaces are perceived by Free Pride as being homonormative, but how counter arguments show these spaces to be more complicated than a homonormative critique suggests. Chapter 5 turns to the spaces of Free Pride. Again, using data from interviews, participant observation, and archival research, I examine how Free Pride's spaces manifest in response to the three key themes of radical politics, commodification, and exclusion. I use this chapter to demonstrate how Free Pride can be understood to be disrupting homonormativity and opening up new queer space.

In Chapter 6, my concluding chapter, I bring together my argument and provide some final thoughts on the constitution of Glasgow's Pride spaces. I close the thesis with a brief discussion of how the future of Glasgow's Queer Battleground might play out, as well as offering some suggested areas for future research.

Chapter 2
Queering Space at Pride: Literature Review
2.1 Introduction

The current debate over the politics and purpose of Pride events, resulting in the activisms introduced in the previous chapter, is not just taking place between activists. Academics are also examining the events and critically analysing the processes that divide LGBT activists over Pride. In this chapter, I consider and situate my research within the current queer geography scholarship surrounding Pride events by reviewing how geographers conceptualise identity, and how this links to LGBT politics and activism. By discussing the shift in thinking from essentialist identities with assimilationist politics towards multiple, contingent, and unfixed identities with queer politics, I develop the queer geographical framework that I use to understand queer identities.

As Glasgow's queer battleground is first and foremost a battle over how public space should be used and queered at Pride events, I then discuss classic understandings of public space and how these have been built on by geographers of sexuality, and later queer geographers, to understand Pride as the 'queering' public space. Next, I introduce the concept of homonormativity as a starting point for reviewing the current debates in geography surrounding Pride events. By exploring what is considered 'homonormative', I build the theoretical framing that allows me to consider how Free Pride's critique of Pride Glasgow might be a critique of perceived homonormativity. It is from this scholarship that the three key themes I use to underpin my argument emerge – radical politics, commodification, and exclusion. Lastly, I turn to geographers who have already begun to study the manifestation of queer space to explore what is understood as 'queer' space and how that allows me to assess if Free Pride's activism might be considered as opening up possibilities for 'queerer' space.

2.2 Queer Conceptualizations of Identity

The third research question of this thesis is concerned with the implications of the constitution of Glasgow's Pride spaces on identities and possibilities of being queer. In order to make connections between Pride spaces and identities, this thesis uses a queer geographical analytical framework to understand identity in relation to space. In this section of my literature review, I outline the work in queer theory and queer geography that

establishes my framing of identity, and the relationship between identity and space. I also outline how this understanding of identity links with the politics of queer activism, to give context to why using a queer conceptualisation of identity is appropriate for this thesis on Free Pride's activism.

Geographers have examined the geographies of sex and sexualities for the last four decades, creating a vast and expanding body of literature on the geographies of LGBT people that argues for the centrality of place and space in constituting sexual practices and sexed bodies (Bell and Valentine, 1995; Browne *et al.*, 2007; Browne and Brown, 2016). For poststructuralists, sexuality is not a naturally occurring trait inherent to humans, but rather it is a discursively constituted identity category that is experienced and understood in culturally and historically specific ways (Turner, 2000). This means constructed identity categories of sexuality do not simply describe pre-existing sexual subjects, but rather they constitute sexual subjects through the discourses associated with them at any given time (Sullivan, 2003). In a Foucauldian sense, discourse is a system of meaning incorporating such things as ideas, concepts, symbols, language and practices, which systematically form the objects of which they speak within a set of power relations (Mills, 2004). This understanding of sexuality as contingent means that there is arguably "no true or correct account of heterosexuality, of homosexuality, of bisexuality" (Sullivan, 2003: 1). As such, understandings of sexual identities emerge not only from discursive construction, but also from discursive contestation (Rose, 1998).

In the early 1990s, geographers took lesbian and gay identities for granted as essentialist subjects (Valentine, 1993; Longhurst and Johnston, 2014). This configuration of the essential subject then transferred into understandings of space, whereby geographers argued that public spaces were pre-constituted as authentically heterosexual, with all non-heterosexual sexual identities rendered both out of place and transgressive (Valentine, 1993; Murphy and Spear, 2011). That geographers used to work with essentialist understandings of identities and space is not surprising given how LGBT politics have been underpinned by essentialism.

In the 1950s, when homosexuality was seen as an illness, many homosexual reform movements throughout the West started to form what was known in the USA as the homophile movement (Jackson, 2015). The politics of these groups is associated with conservative cultural and social views centred on claiming equal citizenship by dispelling the

notion of homosexuality as a sickness or abnormality (Jackson, 2015). The homophile movement is seen as promoting an assimilationist aim, arguing that homosexuals should be accepted into mainstream culture (Nash 2006; Sullivan, 2003). One of the key tenets of assimilationist discourses, is the belief that heterosexuals and homosexuals share a common humanity (Jagose, 1996). This allowed the view that not everyone was 100% heterosexual, but that everyone had the potential for homosexual tendencies to varying degrees (Seidman, 1995). Assimilationist discourses maintain a distinction between public and private spaces to argue that sexuality is a private issue (Sullivan, 2003). However, by making sexuality a private issue, the assimilationist approach is critiqued for depoliticising private spaces, and failing to accommodate the acceptance of homosexuality in public space (Sullivan, 2003).

In both Canada and the United States, the Gay Liberation movement arose in the 1960/70s as a vehicle for those who identified as 'gay' to push back against both heteronormativity and the conservative politics of the homophile movement (Seidman, 1995). The goal for Gay Liberation was to challenge the notion of a natural sexual identity that could be cured and that would otherwise lead to a life of torment (Weeks, 2015). Gay Liberationists aimed to promote an understanding of homosexuality as something positive, that would be governed through alternative values, beliefs, communities, and institutions from existing straight values and institutions (Altman, 1972). In doing so, Gay Liberation would create a new sense of identity for homosexuals based on pride in being gay (Altman, 1972). This idea of pride rejected the idea of homosexuals as victims, and advocated the notion of choosing to be gay, while celebrating the act of coming out (Sullivan, 2003). By allowing for choice in human sexuality, Liberationists were arguing against the repression of sexuality and for the opportunity for liberated bodies to be free to enact all of their sexual desires (Reynolds, 1999). The goal of liberationists was thus not only to gain freedom for homosexuals, but to free everyone from the constraints of gender and sexual normativities (Reynolds, 1999). In other words, the liberation movement was not restricted to gays and lesbians but was open to anyone who felt marginalised as a result of their sexual practices (Halperin, 1997). That said, the categories of gay and lesbian were virtually unchallenged, and sexuality was still considered an inherent trait of individuals.

From the 1990's onwards, a new range of activist groups brought with them a new queer movement building on the liberation movement (Sullivan, 2003; Brown, 2015a). This new queer movement criticised the identity politics of previous Gay Liberation groups for

"exhibiting white, middle-class, heteronormative values and liberal political interests" (Seidman, 1995: 124). As such "they challenged the very basis of mainstream politics organised on the premise of a unified subject", and rejected essentialist or 'natural' identity categories (Seidman, 1995: 124). In the place of these identity categories was the "promise of new ways of thinking and acting politically" (Duggan, 1992:11). Queer activism demanded space for internal diversity within the LGBT movement to create a more inclusive image of the community (Brown, 2015a). However, this promise is not always realised and queer theory has been accused of being male-centred and colour-blind (Sullivan, 2003).

In comparison to the assimilationist and liberationist approaches, queer activist groups present what they see as a more radical approach that seeks to challenge normativity (Rand, 2012). In queer activism, to be radical is to resist normalisation, and support practices, bodies, and politics that are shamed by and stand against mainstream normative discourses (Rand, 2012). Radical queer activism runs concurrently alongside more liberal rights based activism, while other LGBT activist groups still favour a politics of sameness and inclusion in existing structures (Highleyman, 2002). One key contentious issue between liberal and radical queer activists is that of same-sex marriage, where radical queer activists read marriage to be an oppressive institution and same-sex couples inclusion into marriage to be the ultimate symbol of normalisation of homosexuality (Highleyman, 2002; Paternotte and Tremblay, 2015).

The actions of queer activists in the early 1990s helped shape and was shaped by queer theory, which emerged as an intellectual movement at the same time as the queer political movement (Sullivan, 2003). Queer theory formed from the critical theory of poststructuralists such as Judith Butler and Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick on gender and sexuality. As a field of poststructuralist enquiry, queer theory is "a discipline that refuses to be disciplined", continuing to "struggle against the straightjacketing effects of institutionalisation, to resist closure, and remain in the process of ambiguous becoming" (Sullivan, 2003: v; see also Browne and Nash 2010). As such, queer theory can be difficult to work with and there is no one singular understanding of queer theory (Jagose, 1996). That is not to say that it is unknowable and useless, but rather that when it functions, queer theory becomes known in complex ways in relation to the particular context in which it is being practiced (Sullivan, 2003). Therefore, scholars tend not to be concerned with defining queer theory, but instead focus on what queer theory does and how it does so successfully (Turner, 2000; McKee,

1999). With this as the focus, identifiable similarities emerge in how queer theory is understood and practiced between various scholars (Sullivan, 2003).

Queer theory critiques the notion of the essential sexual and gendered subject, arguing that there is no unified, rational true self (Sullivan, 2003). Rather the self is constructed in and through progressive systems of power and knowledge (Foucault, 1980). Queer formulations of identity view identities as fluid, partial, and contested (Browne, 2009). Judith Butler (1999: 179) argued that we must not construe identities as acts following from stable loci of agency, but rather, we must recognize identities as "tenuously constituted in time, instituted in an exterior space through a stylised repetition of acts". In other words, sexual and gender identities are performative.

Following Foucault, Butler argues that this performativity is governed within power relations so that repetitive social actions produce and reproduce the normalised embodied identity of heterosexuality (2008, 1990). Sexuality is therefore a "specific organisation of power, discourse, [and] bodies" in which the power relations are disguised in order for heterosexuality to be taken for granted (Butler, 1990: 125). Moreover, Sedgwick (1990) also critiqued the way understandings of sexuality based on the sex of one's sexual object choice reaffirmed rather than challenged heteronormative logic surrounding sexuality and gender. Queer theory aims to expose the hidden power relations, challenge normative identity categories, and destabilise binary categories of sexuality and gender (Browne, 2009).

Queer theory rejects sexual identity politics and claims a more fluid understanding of subjectivities and identities as being unfixed, multiple and contingent through time and across space (Oswin, 2008). Sedgwick (1990) challenges the homosexual and heterosexual dichotomy, and also the politics of sameness favoured by the homophile movement, by asserting that people are different from each other. Not only does this mean that homosexuals and heterosexuals are different, but it also follows that people of the same sexuality are different from one another for many reasons. One difference is that sexuality might make up a large share of the self-perceived identity of one person, but only make up a small share of another (Sedgwick, 1990: 25). But conceptualising identities in this way has resulted in an ontological debate over how to "make sense of and empower marginalised human subjectivities that are conceived from the start as multiple, fractured, and fluid, and that defy

efforts to impose order on them" (Knopp, 2004: 122). This debate has been one of the key preoccupation of geographers engaging with queer theory.

From this engagement, the academic sub-discipline of queer geography emerged. This is not to suggest geographies of sexualities has been overtaken and superseded by queer geographies as there is an important interplay between them both (Brown and Knopp, 2003; Oswin, 2013; Wright, 2010). Within this interplay, not only do geographers study concepts of sexual identity, power and space, but they simultaneously engage in the process of destabilising these concepts (Podmore, 2013). When queer theory is deployed by queer geographers, it is used to consciously complicate given binaries and normative theories (Browne, 2009). This means that when examining the geography of queer lives, more attention is given to the discourses that constitute the lived experiences and material spaces of queer people, and the power relations that they are embedded within (Podmore, 2013; Browne, 2006).

As queer theory aims to critique normative ways of knowing and of being, queer scholarship does not just focus on normativities that are sex-specific (Sullivan, 2003: vi). Although a large part of scholarship within queer geography does focus on sexuality, geographers are applying this work on sexualities to an increasingly large range of topics (Oswin, 2005). Key debates in queer geographies have surfaced around LGBT spatial formations such as gay villages in urban spaces (Knopp, 1990, 1997), as well as around sexual citizenship and the meanings given to LGBT identities in public spaces (Bell and Binnie, 2000, 2004; Binnie, 2004; Hubbard, 2001; Nash, 2005; 2006). Pride events have also been a key area of study for geographers (Johnston, 2005; Johnston and Waitt, 2015; Markwell and Waitt, 2009). It is within this body of work on Pride by geographers that I situate my thesis.

2.3 Queer Geographical Understandings of Identity and Space

Queer geographers have added to queer theory by conceptualizing a recursive constitution of identities and spaces (Nash, 2005, 2006). If LGBT identities are constituted out of the repetitive acts of the body, and if these acts are disciplined through discourses, then attention needs to be given to how these discourses manifest geographically. Queer geographers argue that dominant discourses are embedded in space, so that certain locations have specific expectations associated with them. These spatial expectations serve to constitute what

practices are supported and restricted in distinct spaces, so that these spaces govern bodies to conform to the type of identities expected and accepted within them. By being in public spaces, people come to know themselves and recognise their identities by feeling in and out of place within the spaces.

It is not just dominant discourses that are embedded in space, as spaces can contain multiple meanings that allow for resistive acts in space (Cresswell, 1996; Nash, 2006). However, queer geographers have critiqued the conceptualisation of public space as only ever having heterosexual dominance and homosexual resistance (Oswin, 2008). Geographers studying gay and lesbian urban spaces have examined the creation of resistive spaces, such as gay villages, and argued that bodies in these spaces also become disciplined in line with the discourses of sexual conduct agreed upon for those spaces (Nash, 2006). Therefore, spaces do not just produce identities, but are also produced by the actions of those within them, where people reproduce their identities as being natural and accepted in those spaces (Cresswell, 1996; Nash, 2006).

It is this recursive formulation of identity and space that queer geographers highlight, and that I use for the theoretical geographical framework of my thesis. Following an understanding that Pride queers space, it is this definition of queer space as fluid, contingent, and accommodating of all possibilities of sexual and gender identities that informs my analysis of Free Pride's queering of space. Literature on Pride events in the Global South and in the peripheries of the Global North argue how in some place-specific political contexts, current Pride events remain open spaces that bring political contention and disrupt normative space (Di Feliciantonio, 2016). However, literature on Pride events in the Global North is dominated by accounts of mainstreaming and commodification (Kates and Belk, 2001; Browne, 2007b; Taylor, 2014). Here, a political shift towards a neoliberal, nationalist agenda at Pride has seen events increasingly adopt business models and prioritise normative identities (Di Feliciantonio, 2016). However, as Di Feliciantonio (2016) argues: "a monolithic account of the politics of Pride as everywhere depoliticised, commodified, and mainstreamed is at the very least reductive" and erases "the role of place and space in shaping politics and activism" (Di Feliciantonio, 2016: 98). This thesis pays attention to the spatially specific factors shaping Free Pride's critique of Pride Glasgow to examine how Pride in Glasgow is queering space.

For queer geographers, queer space is not just a space for gays and lesbians as an alternative to straight space, but rather it is a radical space that seeks to destabilise broad constellations of power that restrict the possibilities of being to normative identities (Oswin, 2008). Queer space can be described as space where the dominant discourses embedded within the space are 'queer' discourses so that they challenge the boundaries of what is considered normal within them. The constitution of queer space, whether temporary or permanent, is argued to be politicised space in how it justifies queer lives (Cottrill, 2006). Queer space must be adaptable to accommodate and accept as valid all sexual and gender possibilities (Cottrill, 2006). However, while identities might be allowed to claim space, queer holds a fluid and contingent understanding of identity (Reed, 1996). As such, queer space has been defined as "spaces that critique the divisions of sexuality, gender, class, and race through political, cultural, social, real, ephemeral, geographic and historic contexts" (Cottrill, 2006: 359). It is argued that "no space is totally queer or completely un-queerable, but some spaces are queerer than others" (Reed, 1996: 64).

By understanding identity as fluid and as constituted through dominant but multiple discourses embedded in space, I examine Glasgow's Pride spaces as spaces that contain specific ideas of sexual and gender identities which support and restrict the acts of certain LGBT people. Examining the spaces in this way means the methodology of my thesis will need to tease out the dominant discourses in the spaces within the timeframe of my case study, so that I will be able to address the complexities of being LGBT and feeling included or excluded at Pride events in Glasgow.

2.4 Pride Events and Public Space

The previous section takes the conceptualisation of space and identity as being recursively constituted in multiple, unfixed, and contingent ways within shifting power relations, as the analytical framework for this thesis' understanding of identity. In this section, I build on this framework by reviewing how geographers of sexuality and space have built on classic understandings of public space to understand the relationship between space and LGBT people specifically at Pride events. It is this literature that allows me to understand the purpose of Pride events as a challenge to heteronormativity in public space.

Geographers have studied how LGBT people have sexually (re)coded public spaces by reclaiming certain public areas as their own, for example gay ghettos/villages, or cruising/cottaging sites (Brown, 2008; Knopp, 2004; Turner, 2003). They have also studied a second, more temporary (re)coding through the claiming of public space during riots and pride parades. Public space is a broad term that describes a range of social locations that are openly accessible for the free movement of members of the public (Low and Smith, 2006). It is argued that urban public spaces should be fairly and democratically governed and policed (Mitchell, 2003; Low and Smith, 2006; Staeheli and Mitchell, 2007). This allows social groups to make their politics public, and makes public space accessible for all people regardless of significant social attributes such as gender, sexuality, race, age, and class (Mitchell, 2003). Public spaces "demand heterogeneity" and are places of social interaction between people who are necessarily different from each other (Mitchell, 2003: 18). However, this does not mean the existence of a quintessential public space open to all, as historically the regulation of public space has never been necessarily tolerant of non-normative or so-called deviant behaviour (Domosh, 1998; Blumenberg and Ehrenfeucht, 2008). Regulation of public space has always been and is always contested, with different groups in certain historic and geographic contexts having conflicting understandings of what constitutes fair governance (Blomley, 2011; Mackintosh, 2017).

Contestation occurs when the regulation of public space reinforces inequality by restricting and policing practices and performances considered disorderly by some but necessary by others, even though this works to restrict uses of public space for everyone (Zukin, 2010; Mackintosh, 2017). This is in part because, under the assertion of neoliberalism, an economic view of public space has caused certain public spaces to become owned and governed by private interests (Mitchell, 2003). What is acceptable and included within public space becomes determined by the interests of those who own the space (Mitchell and Staeheli, 2006; Smith and low, 2006). Moreover, acts of violence and terror in public have increased fear of public spaces being uncontrolled. This imagining is also partly to blame for increasing restriction and policing, as surveillance and control become acceptable to the public as a means to make city space safer (Mitchell, 2003; Zukin, 2010).

Regulation results in highly differentiated experiences of the publicness of contemporary urban public spaces by certain gendered, sexualised, and racialized bodies (Collins and Shantz, 2009). Throughout the course of the 20th century, activists have fought for inclusion

in public space for marginalised groups and for the use of public space to hold protests and other actions deemed unsuitable for public space (Mitchell, 2003). Geographers have studied the spatial dynamics of social movements using public spaces as part of contentious political activity in citizenship-based activism (Nicholls *et al.*, 2013). They argue that spatiality has implications for the constitution of activism, with attention needing to be paid to place-specific factors that enable or disable activism in specific public space locations (Nicholls *et al.,* 2013). Public space is therefore understood as being the relationship between the physical materiality of spaces accessible by the public, and the processes and struggles to achieve real inclusion for everyone (Mitchell and Staeheli, 2009).

Lefebvre's concept of an individual's 'right to the city' explores how access to public space is linked with citizenship and how individuals should demand their right to have a public life in urban spaces (Lefebvre, 1996; Mitchell, 2003). Citizens have rights as urban dwellers to make their ideas for public space use known, and to protest for these ideas in city centres without being confined to ghettos within the city for marginalised people (Lefebvre, 1991; Kofman and Lebas, 1996). Arguments based on Lefebvre's right to the city stress the need to "restructure the power relations that underlie the production of urban space, fundamentally shifting control away from capital and the state and toward urban inhabitants" (Purcell, 2002: 101). The argument is that citizens, not just the state, should have involvement in the decisions that produce public space (Purcell, 2002).

These ideas surrounding the importance of public spaces for groups of people to be regarded as full citizens is important for my thesis in order to develop an understanding of the purpose of Pride events as an intervention by LGBT people to gain inclusion in public. Public spaces are not preordained as public but require the presence and performance of people within them to constitute them as public (Mitchell, 2003; Goheen, 1998; Mackintosh, 2017).

However, geographer Gill Valentine has questioned the extent of public space's 'public-ness' (Valentine, 1996). Valentine (1993) argues that social and cultural norms within public space make all public spaces heteronormative by rendering all non-heterosexual sexual identities out of place. Repetitive performances such as heterosexual couples kissing and holding hands in public, embed in public space the notion that heterosexual performativity is the proper way to produce heterosexual public space (Valentine, 1996). Valentine argues that the taken-for-granted nature of heterosexuality is hidden within a false assumption of 'sexuality' being

absent or invisible in public space (1993). The term heteronormativity was coined to describe how the dominance of heterosexuality in cultural and institutional life has resulted in taken-for-granted heterosexual norms, expectations and behaviours in public spaces (Warner, 1993). To stabilise and maintain the 'heterosexuality of the street', straight citizens in public spaces will aggressively regulate homosexual performativity (Valentine, 1996; Herek, 1988). Discrimination and violence against LGBT people in public spaces produces the spaces as heterosexual and creates fear in LGBT individuals over entering these spaces (Browne, 2007a; Bell and Valentine, 1995, Knopp and Brown, 2003).

As such, LGBT activists realised that to be treated as equal citizens with the right to be 'out' in public, they would have to organise around gaining political and social visibility in public space (Knopp, 2004; Hubbard, 2001). If public spaces are made straight through heterosexual performances, then so too can they be made queer through non-heterosexual, queer performances (Butler, 1990; Browne, 2007a). Marching through the streets at Pride events - a radical idea in the 1970s due to the dominance of anti-LGBT beliefs and legislation at the time – was regarded as a transgressive reterritorialization of public space that temporarily carved it out as queer by making non-heteronormative individuals and practices visible and temporarily acceptable (Bell and Valentine, 1995; Johnston, 2005). This visibility of homosexual space juxtaposed beside the heterosexual spaces also made visible the heterosexual norms that produced public space as heterosexual in the first place (Bell and Valentine, 1995). As public space is constituted through acts that politicise the space, Pride participants are concerned with (re)politicising public space with the politics necessary for their inclusion (Mitchell, 2003). Therefore, political performances at Pride (re)spatialize public space in ways that achieve more than just visibility – they challenge the production of anti-democratic space and identities through social mobilisation (Valentine, 2002; Johnston, 2005; Enguix, 2009).

However, while Valentine and other scholars within geographies of sexualities at the time took gay and lesbian as given identities and understood spaces as being either heterosexual or homosexual, queer geographers complicate this by rejecting essential identities and spaces. As discussed in the previous section, Queer geographers have drawn from Butler's notion of performativity and subject creation to discuss the constitution of public spaces and subjects within them. Queer geographers argue that public spaces are constituted through ongoing repetitive actions and practices that are governed through dominant discourses embedded in

space (Bell and Valentine, 1995; Nast, 1998; Browne, 2007a). Publically embedded discourses surrounding heteronormativity work to render public spaces as heterosexual and constitute people in public as heterosexual. This follows Butler's argument that compulsory heterosexuality, constituted through heterosexual norms being taken as common sense, renders invisible the instability of sexualised hierarchies (Butler, 1990). Further, as the power relations governing heterosexual space become incorporated into our sense of self in these spaces, feeling unnatural and out of place in public impacts the way we understand our identities in space (Browne, 2007a).

Overall, when taken together with queer geographical scholarship on the recursive relationship between space and identity, the literature on Pride and public space provides a sound background for understanding how queer geographers might view the purpose of Pride spaces. It is this grounding that informs how I can understand the space-making actions of both Free Pride and Pride Glasgow as productive of particular LGBT spaces and identities that push back against hetero- and/or homo-normativity.

2.5 Homonormativity at Pride

In the introduction to this section, I briefly introduce the concept of homonormativity that I develop in depth in the following three subsections to explore how contemporary debates over the purpose and politics of Pride events complicate the understanding of Pride events as queering space. The three subsections divide the discussion of homonormativity under the themes of radical politics, commodification, and exclusion used to consider Free Pride's activism. It is from this work on contemporary Pride debates that these three thematic lenses emerged, and it is through connecting this literature with the queer theoretical framework developed above that I was able to consider the themes as discourses embedded in Glasgow's Pride spaces.

Although gay villages and Pride spaces are thought of as inclusive spaces that push back against heteronormativity in public, it is also argued that these spaces may be unwelcoming for certain queer people, particularly gender variant and transgender people (Hubbard, 2013; Podmore, 2015). Further, the subversive potential of queering public space is potentially reduced when identities become domesticated (Butler, 1993). Warner argues that, amongst other things, queer politics "resisted any attempt to make the norms of straight culture the

standards by which queer life should be measured" (1999: 123). However, he noted that queer activists "became alert to the danger that the same hierarchies" that made LGBT people "secondary, invisible, or deviant" to straight people, would "continue to structure the thought of the gay and lesbian movement itself" (Warner, 1999:123). Following this, queer thinkers have begun to examine the way that contemporary LGBT politics can be considered 'assimilationist' and has resulted in the disciplining of LGBT gender and sexual practices to adhere to a certain normative lifestyle (Phelan, 2001; Richardson, 2005).

Lisa Duggan first coined the term homonormativity to conceptualise the new identities and practices arising from what she regards as the contemporary sexual politics of neoliberalism (Duggan, 2002). This sexual politics allowed the mainstream LGBT movement to gain traction by positioning LGBT people as second-class citizens, while arguing that they are as deserving of the same treatment as everybody else. This required a strategic political shift to deploy sameness, as opposed to difference, with heterosexuals, as the strategy to gain recognition (Duggan, 2002). This 'sameness' was the idea that homosexuals, by desiring to fall in love in a stable, monogamous, domestic relationship, were more similar than different to heterosexuals. The only difference was the sex of their chosen partner, which was argued to be an insignificant difference.

In Glasgow, the two Pride groups each have a different set of politics and system of meaning about the nature of LGBT identities that forms their understanding of how Pride events should use public space. Following that spaces and identities are recursively produced and always 'becoming' through performativity and discourse, the politics and discourses held by each group become embedded in the respective event spaces. Queer geographical scholarship has examined some of the ways that homonormativity can be embedded in space, and explored how Pride events can be critiqued as being homonormative. Within this literature, key themes for understanding the constitution of homonormativity at Pride are debates surrounding radical politics, commodification, and exclusion. I take these themes from the literature as signposts for guiding my analysis of the dominant discourses in Glasgow. Below, I take each theme in turn to discuss what they suggest might be relevant to understand the Glasgow case.

In the subsection on radical politics, I explore the relationship between homonormativity and the politics of the LGBT movement. Deploying sameness as a political strategy does not

challenge the dominant heteronormative assumptions and rules governing society. Rather, it works to reproduce these norms in new ways by making the heteronormative ideals LGBT goals (Richardson, 2005). When this occurs, homonormative politics are seen to favour the assimilation of LGBT people into normative society. This focus on assimilation is a cause of tension between LGBT people who desire this inclusion, and those who desire a more radical politics that confronts and challenges the norm. This subsection explores how the distinction between assimilationist and radical politics may help us understand the different spaces of Glasgow's two competing Pride groups.

In the second subsection, I explore the relationship between homonormativity and commodification. Scholars argue that LGBT spaces can reflect homonormativity through the ways that queer urban entrepreneurialism commodifies LGBT spaces and the LGBT identities within them. Homonormativity is linked to neoliberalism, through how neoliberal values of economic inclusion aid this commodification. This subsection explores how scholars have recognised neoliberal influences at Pride events, to suggest ways that I can examine Glasgow's Pride spaces to be commodified or not.

Lastly, in the third subsection, I explore how homonormativity results in certain inclusions and exclusions at Pride events. The 'sameness' that homonormativity argues for is built on an imaginary white, able body, so that people become excluded from homonormative spaces based on their intersecting identities (Ward, 2008). This section explores how the concept of homonormativity can help me understand the exclusions taking place in Glasgow, by introducing the concept of the 'queer unwanted' that is constituted as different from or in resistance to homonormativity.

2.5.1 Radical Politics

The first theme prominent in the literature on Pride events is attention to whether Pride can (or should) reflect a radical politics. Warner (1999) outlines the core principles of queer politics as practiced by 1970s queer North American activists. Key to these values is resisting the state regulation of sexuality which grants legitimacy to only those homonormative sexualities and genders, while being sex positive and recognising the diversity of sexual identities as worthy of protection (Warner, 1999). However, in the decades following the Stonewall riots, mainstream LGBT organisations were at odds with these principles when

they narrowed their politics in favour of advocating for equal rights based on sameness (Wolf, 2009; Duggan, 2002). This assimilationist, rights-based politics is often represented as "conservative and as the opposite of resistance, which, by association, is posited as radical" (Sullivan, 2003: 47). During this time, same sex marriage has been studied as a key area of contention between 'radical' and 'assimilationist' queers (Warner, 1999; Highyelman, 2002). There has been debate over whether same sex marriage supports or resists heteronormative hegemony – in other words, debating whether gay marriage makes marriage gay, or if it makes gays more heteronormative (Warner, 1999). The same debate is happening with Pride events, where Pride's potential to fight for "a right to difference and a right to the city" (Brown, 2015a: 74) is called into question by the politics of Pride organising groups (Johnston, 2005; Browne, 2007b; Browne and Bakshi, 2013).

Debate around the contemporary political currency of Pride is framed by the idea that the radical politics associated with earlier events are no longer necessary due to a changed social and political landscape since the 1970s (Browne and Bakshi, 2013). Research demonstrates that Pride participants associate the earlier radical politics of Pride with acts of protesting, getting into fights, and getting arrested (Browne and Bakshi, 2013). The same participants regard these tactics as disconnected from their everyday experiences as an LGBT person in a more tolerant landscape (Browne and Bakshi, 2013). As such, the idea of Pride events needing to be a protest has become 'out-dated' (Taylor, 2014; Browne and Bakshi, 2011; Nash, 2013a). Some scholars are suggesting that this viewpoint arises from 'post-gay' individuals who benefit from occupying privileged positions in which sexuality is no longer a defining part of their identity (Ghaziani, 2011; Nash, 2013a; Brown, 2015b;). As a result, people who attend contemporary Pride events do so to have fun rather than for any political purposes (Browne, 2007b; Taylor, 2014).

However, Kath Browne's work examining the tensions between the politics and the partying at Brighton Pride argues that writing off mainstream Pride events as homonormative because of their partying risks overlooking the ways in which these events still offer space for people to be free from, and protest against, homophobia and heteronormativity in their own ways (Browne, 2007b). Activism at 'homonormative' events still offers personal meaning and comfort to those who attend (Browne, 2007b). Browne asserts that the parties at Pride events are not apolitical but rather best conceptualised as 'parties with politics' as the partying can be seen as a political move to occupy and use public space in a positive way (Browne,

2007b). Moreover, for some Pride events the argument is not that the political edge of Pride has been lost through commercialisation, but rather there is political weight in proving the purchasing power of the gay community at such events (Browne, 2007b). Further, in some places, the argument is that Pride was never political in the first place. In his work on Manchester Pride, for example, Hughes argues that Manchester's event "clearly never had the political element that characterised Pride marches and events" (Hughes, 2006). This also suggests Pride Glasgow's history might never have intended to be political but was always intended as a party. Further, it suggests that I need to consider whether Pride Glasgow's spaces might remain political spaces albeit not in the way Free Pride argues Pride should be.

However, while it is argued that Pride events may still be political, it is accepted that this is not necessarily political in any radical way (Browne and Bakshi, 2013). Highyelman (2002:110) argues that "queer radicals today face a dilemma" over whether or not to try steering the mainstream LGBT movement towards a more radical politics. These radical queers are those who still experience oppression to the extent that gender and sexuality are still important to how they live their everyday lives, and still hold onto the principles of queer politics (Warner, 1999; Rand, 2012; Taylor, 2014; Brown, 2015a). This is distinctly different from those who identity as post-gay, who argue that sexuality is no longer a defining feature of their identity (Ghazaini, 2011; Nash, 2013). The argument from the radical queers questions the assertion that the battles of Pride events have been won, and they argue that Pride should still serve a political purpose while homophobia, biphobia, and transphobia still exist (Mattilda, 2008).

Scholarship has examined how queer activists have successfully created 'exceptional' radical moments that have transformed the political landscape of Pride. Lamusse (2016), examines how activists staged a successful political intervention at Auckland Pride by rallying behind a single 'No Pride in Prisons' campaign to prevent police officers from marching. Their article traces the history of Pride and gay liberation in Auckland to contextualise Pride's political purpose at any given time (Lamusse, 2016). Similar to understanding how 'No Pride in Prisons' prevailed as a successful political intervention at Auckland Pride in 2015, my study of Glasgow learns from this to consider whether Free Pride's activism might also be arguing for a more radical nature to be brought back into Pride's politics, and why its activism emerged in the specific time of 2015.

Finally, work on the radical politics of Pride events have also conceptualised activism as driven by shame rather than Pride (Halberstam, 2005; Halperin, 2009). Research on Gay Shame events that occurred in North America in the late 1990s as a protest of mainstream Pride, argues that these were key events countering what was regarded as the assimilationist, neoliberal polices and corporate selling out of mainstream Pride events (Rand, 2012). This idea of shame as a flipside to pride highlights how alternative events can provide affirmation to those who feel shamed by not only heteronormativity but also homonormativity (Johnston, 2007; Rand, 2012; Halperin and Traub, 2009). This scholarship argues that Pride within the LGBT community has never fully separated itself from or transcended feelings of shame (Halperin and Traub, 2009). Alternative events offer opportunities for activists and participants to legitimise the shameful bodies and topics that are off limits within mainstream Pride spaces, such as sex work, disabilities, and kinkiness (Halperin and Traub, 2009). At the Gay Shame events, the radical desires which alienated people from mainstream Pride events became a source of collective resistance and community building (Brown, 2007a, 2007b; Phelan, 2001; Rand, 2012). Research on these events highlights the range of tactics that can be employed by queer activists to parody and attack mainstream Pride events (Silverstone, 2012). However, far from showing alternative activism as only confrontational, the literature demonstrates the sustainable ways available for queer people to socialise and build community without being mediated by commodification (Brown, 2007a, 2007b). Overall, this literature gives examples of how radical politics have manifested for other previous activism groups. This suggests that for my thesis, I should focus on what form of politics each group holds in the creation of its spaces. I need to consider how a 'radical politics' might be understood by Free Pride and what it might look like in the Glasgow context.

2.5.2 Commodification

The second theme prominent in the literature regarding the homonormativity of Pride events is the scholarship on the commodification of identities and spaces at Pride (Kates and Belk, 2001; Enguix, 2009). Paralleling the mainstreaming of the LGBT political agenda, that has seen Pride events arguably lose their radical edge, is the increased commodification of LGBT identities and the commodification of Pride (Highleyman, 2002). Late capitalism seems to contradictorily offer greater freedom to form non-normative sexual identities while at the same time maintaining a continued dominance of gender and sexual norms that favour normative nuclear family structures (D'Emilio, 1983; Wolf, 2009). In other words, although

capitalism has allowed openings for LGBT rights, it has done so while also opening up more possibilities for queer people to be coercively policed (Sears, 2005). Neoliberal forces within late capitalism have arguably equated LGBT identities as products of capitalism by constituting LGBT spaces as locations to be consumed for a price, with LGBT people buying into their identity and being constituted as consumers and commodities themselves (Sears, 2005). This commodification is linked to homonormativity through how it partly constitutes the middle-class ideals that allow homosexuals to be included in neoliberal society as stable consumers.

It was the liberalising of global capitalist markets with neoliberal polices during the 1970s and 1980s that saw power shift in the global economy from the state to the free market (Larner, 2009). This shift resulted in decreased state intervention in the global economy and allowed for privatisation and free trade that turned public spaces into private spaces for generating profit, often through the exploitation of niche groups such as LGBT and queer people (Bell and Binnie, 2000; Richardson, 2005; Rushbrook, 2002). Scholarship argues that the LGBT community was (and is) being reconstituted as one of these niche groups incorporated into the global economy via the pink economy (Bell and Binnie, 2004). The pink economy describes the cultivation of the LGBT community based on target marketing and the manufacturing of demand for lesbians and gay men in both the workforce and popular culture (Hughes, 2006; Ward, 2008; Binnie, 2010). Moreover, work on the rise of the creative class also argues that neoliberal urban policies brought a shift towards an entrepreneurial culture that opened up the possibility for queer space to be incorporated into the commodified spaces of the neoliberal city (Hall and Hubbard, 1996). The adoption of neoliberal policies by corporations and the LGBT rights movement solidified the notion that lifestyle choices and consumption were the route to social and political inclusion (Chasin, 2000).

The control of public space as one of consumption is a central strategy of neoliberalism, resulting in more policing of public space and discrimination against or the exclusion of those who do not fit in with normative practices (Low and Smith, 2006). Thus, homonormativity becomes the vehicle for which LGBT people can gain inclusion in public space. Geographical literature examining the relationship between commodification and LGBT spaces, has focussed on the notions of gentrification, cosmopolitanism and the power of the 'pink pound' (Rushbrook, 2002; Doan and Higgins, 2011). Binnie and Skeggs' case study of

Manchester's gay village explores how capitalist desires to open new markets merged with the desire of LGBT activists to carve out their own spaces as imagined and material cosmopolitan spaces (Binnie and Skeggs, 2004). This imagining of wealthy gay men and their spaces as cosmopolitan created discourses about a 'global gay citizen' linking gay spaces around the world and opening up a global queer tourism market welcoming gay people at events around the world (Binnie and Skeggs, 2004). However, as commodified spaces, business interests are prioritised over political interests with the result that political action that would pose a threat to profit making is largely muted (Knopp, 1995).

Discussions of commodified LGBT spaces link to debates between urban geographers over the transformation of western cities as social structures have changed with shifts in urban governance in the last few decades of the 20th century, such that city governments focus on creating favourable conditions for economic growth within globalized markets (Hall and Hubbard, 1996). This created the entrepreneurial city, where business interests were incorporated into urban regimes, and the line between the public and private sector became blurred (Hall and Hubbard, 1996). Urban theory and queer theory connect when considering the commodification of LGBT spaces in relation to entrepreneurial urban governance aiming to promote cities as progressive and attract LGBT investment (Quilley, 1997). And if urban theorists examine the ways that the entrepreneurial city has failed to alleviate social and economic problems within many western cities, then queer urban theorists join other critical and feminist geographers in unpacking the different exclusions established and exacerbated by entrepreneurial city policies (McLean, 2014). However, in examining the relationship between sexual identities and urban spaces, research has focused largely on gay male urban spaces, and specifically homonormative gay male urban spaces (Brown, 2008). There also remains a hierarchy of urban cities, in which larger western cities remain the focus of most research (Brown, 2008). Therefore, this suggests that this thesis' focus on non-homonormative LGBT identities might help fill the gap in the study of urban sexualities. However, this also suggests that I need to be careful not to treat Glasgow the same as the larger urban cities commonly studied in the literature.

Scholarship also argues that the merging of neoliberal corporate values with equal rights discourses has profoundly affected the strategies utilised by Pride organisation around public space (Richardson, 2004; 2005). The name Pride was chosen to communicate how the events seek to be a necessary and important remedy to the oppression felt in heteronormative public

space, and to provide a space in public to empower people to assert their right to be themselves (Adam, 2009). However, commodification has resulted in some scholarship arguing that when Pride is taken over by business interests, the authenticity of sexual and gender liberation is lost through the constitution of identity within the demands of these commodified spaces (Hughes, 2006). The literature further argues that commodification can be seen in Pride spaces through corporate sponsorship of the space, corporate presence being allowed to overrule the space, and the charging of entry fees to be allowed in the space (Brown and Bakshi, 2013). Browne's (2007) work on Pride events explores the controversies that arose when Pride organisations in London, Manchester, and Brighton started charging entry fees to their post parade events. As such, these factors are what I will consider in Pride Glasgow's spaces when trying to understand Free Pride's critique.

Lastly, scholarship explores the impact of commodification of Pride through a consideration of how Pride is now marketed as a tourist event by both Pride organisers and city marketing departments (Johnston, 2005). Queer academics have explored how pride events in major cities are increasingly critiqued as merely tourist attractions to draw in money from queer and straight tourists desiring to view the spectacle of a gay Pride festival (Binnie 2004; Markwell and Waitt, 2009; Taylor, 2014). When Pride is a tourist spectacle, the behaviour of its participants is often policed to ensure it maintains its tourist friendly imagery, which can dilute any radical performances at events by excluding the non-homonormative identities that disrupt this image (Binnie, 2004; Johnston, 2007). Commodification encourages Pride to play down its radical edges and position itself as a more attractive market, and discourages developing critiques of capitalism and state power (Highleyman, 2002). When considering the imagery of Pride events, academics examine how such events celebrate homoeroticism and promote themselves with sexualised imagery of certain body types (Burns, 2012; Waitt, 2003, 2006). Often Pride's promotional imagery operates to exclude others within the LGBT community based on homonormative gender, ethnicity, and class (Burns, 2012; Waitt, 2003, 2006). Overall, the literature suggests common factors of commodification such as sponsorship and entry costs that I should consider in Glasgow. However, it also suggests commodification manifests in different ways in different places, for example depending on the relationship between Pride groups and the city in which they are in. For my work, I will need to be conscious of the place-specific factors that may impact how commodification is understood in the Glasgow context.

2.5.3 Exclusion

When Pride spaces are produced through a lack of radical politics and through commodification, they arguably function to include and exclude certain identities:

> Now that pride is increasingly a platform for civic, political and economic endorsement, those whose bodies, identities, social circumstances or desires pose a risk to the staid and marketable image of the (homo)sexual citizen – the poor, the homeless, the differently abled, people of colour, immigrants, unfeminine women, feminine men, fat bodies, ageing bodies, HIV positive people, trans people, bi/pansexuals, polyamorists, pederasts, sadomasochists, sex workers, drug users – find themselves out of place in bourgeois pride festivities. (Taylor, 2014: 35)

The climate of celebration at mainstream Pride events about equalities already achieved, is altering the spatialities of LGBT sexualities (Podmore, 2013). The concept of the self-regulating 'good gay citizen' developed to describe those homonormative citizens willing to engage with mainstream consumption practices and normative behaviour within public space (Binnie, 2004; Casey, 2009). Good gay citizens are affluent consumers, willing to present themselves as ordinary and able to contribute to the free market, thus allowing for their acceptance in public spaces. This public presence is permitted based on normative gendered presentations (proper masculine and feminine embodiment) and monogamous coupledom operating within middle-class values of consumerism and commodification (Bell and Binnie, 2000; Richardson, 2004, 2005). The concept of the gay elite also developed within this conceptualisation of homonormativity to highlight how notions of the good gay citizen were reproducing a white, gay patriarchy, in which inclusion in gay space was unevenly felt along gender, ethnicity, and class lines (Nast, 2002). Homonormativity blurs the homosexual and heterosexual divide so that sexual identity becomes less significant between these two categories when LGBT people comply with the same idealised norms required as heterosexuals (Richardson, 2004; Seidman, 2002).

With the emergence of the homonormative citizen, a counter movement has developed seeking to re-establish the boundaries between straights and queers (Richardson, 2004). The 'queer unwanted', as Binnie (2004) argues, are the undesirable outside figures who cannot or choose not to embrace capitalist society or alter their practices and performances to fit

societal norms including homonormativity (see also Casey, 2009). In rejecting the politics of sameness that favours the good gay citizen, the queer unwanted recognise the queer movement's failure to build a multi-issue movement inclusive of LGBT people and concerned with the myriad issues effecting all LGBT people (Ward, 2008).

The concepts of the good gay citizen and the queer unwanted provide a useful framework for analysing to what extent Pride spaces in Glasgow can be considered as homonormative and queer. While Pride Glasgow, for example, might be regarded as supporting homonormative identities and restricting the queer unwanted, Free Pride might be claiming to support excluded or left out. However, critiques of homonormativity caution against blindly reinforcing the categories of the good gay citizen and queer unwanted, and argue that scholars turn their attention to critically examining the ways normativity could be working across these identities (Oswin, 2008; Rand, 2012). The previous analytical focus on homonormativity has been critiqued for its focus on the binary of inclusion/exclusion, and geographers are now aiming to demonstrate the complexity of LGBT spatialities within homonormativity (Podmore, 2013). This follows Sibley's (1995, 1998) arguments that the way the concept of exclusion is commonly used is problematic as it overlooks the mutual constitution of inclusion and exclusion, and their nuanced dimensions. Oswin (2005) argues against maintaining a dichotomy between normalised/radical and included/excluded queer identities and spaces, due to these binaries being too neat. Other geographers argue for the need to read the landscape of LGBT life for difference as opposed to normativity and hegemony (Brown, 2009; Visser, 2008). This suggests I should be critical of looking at Free Pride and Pride Glasgow as a binary, and to consider the complexity of their spaces beyond neat queer versus homonormative framing.

2.6 Alternative Pride Spaces

Geographers have already started conceptualising how LGBT people have been actively creating specifically queer spaces (Nash and Bain, 2007; Brown, 2007; Rouhani, 2012). Gavin Brown's ethnographic study of queer spaces created by the Queeruption group in London, along with Farhang Rouhani's study of the Richmond Queer Space Project in Virginia, USA, signal that some counter-activism is designed to challenge or offer alternatives to mainstream Pride. In studying these queer spaces and alternative events to Pride, geographers demonstrate the complex and contradictory processes of queer space-

making (Brown, 2007; Rouhani, 2012). When Farhang Rouhani examined the Richmond Queer Space Project in Virginia, USA, he did so with the specific aim of merging together ideas from geographic and anarchist thought (Rouhani, 2012). He argues that although geographers have made significant strides in approaching the contradictory, messy, and complex ways that activist groups work to create queer space, deploying anarchist approaches may deepen our understanding of the positive, creative, liberating value of queer spatial experimentation (Rouhani, 2012). Both Rouhani and Brown find that the groups they study are not just based on gender and sexual politics but also based on anarchist and anti-capitalist values (Brown, 2007; Rouhani, 2012). However, although the groups studied by Brown and Rouhani respectively were anarchist identifying, Free Pride does not overtly utilise anarchist approaches (Free Pride, Interviews, 2016). My case study will therefore not be examining anarchist approaches. However, Brown and Rouhani's work is still useful in thinking through how queer space can build community.

Moreover, Podmore's (2015) work on the Montreal Dyke march demonstrates how inclusion/exclusion can result in the creation of new uses of space while further arguing that alternative movements are not necessarily unified and harmonious and need to be critically analysed. These new spaces created by alternative activists are also filled with contradictions and tensions (Podmore, 2015). Podmore discusses how the lesbian counter public group organising the Montreal dyke march was not a unified group but was fragmented over conflicts about the group's identity and politics suggesting I need to look for the same tensions in Glasgow.

Further, the concept of homonormativity also risks homogenising Pride Glasgow's events as being only consumerist orgies while overlooking their positive and potentially radical politics (Silverstone, 2012). Without critical thinking, an analysis of Pride Glasgow could reinforce the narrative of homonormativity even if what is happening does not completely fit the definition (Brown, 2007). Moreover, the concepts of homonormativity and assumptions about a white, gay patriarchy, also overlook the complexities and nuances of LGBT individuals by not examining closely enough the actual lived experiences and desires of these individuals (Elder, 2002). The separation of the homonormative good citizens and the queer unwanted ignores how power and privilege can be present in transgressive individuals, with transgressive identities having the possibility of being complicit in reproducing normativity (Browne and Bakshi, 2011; Oswin, 2005; Puar, 2007). It is possible that the queer unwanted

may still be "un-queer." Nash and Bain (2007), in their work on bathhouses in Toronto, argued that the process of 'queering space' can paradoxically discipline sexualised and gendered behaviours, for example by reinforcing transphobia while claiming to be queer. This scholarship suggests my research should consider how LGBT spaces are not neutral or uncontested. Both Pride Glasgow and Free Pride are actively constituting public spaces for certain queer citizens while paradoxically also being potentially complicit in constituting disciplinary spaces and excluding certain sexual and gender identities.

2.7 Summary of the Application of this Literature on my Research

In this literature review, I discussed the core literature that underpins the theoretical framework of this thesis and supports the arguments I make. The start of this chapter discussed how queer geography scholarship is focused on the intertwined and recursive relationship between identity, and space. It is within this relationship that discourses about LGBT identities and spaces are constituted through contested, unfixed, and partial power relations, and are embedded and constitute particular spaces. The literature also discussed how public space is used by Pride events as a way to 'queer' space and fight for citizenship and inclusion. With a queer understanding of space-making, the studying of queer space has moved beyond a focus on sexuality and gender towards a focus on a critique of normativity and the power relations involved (Oswin, 2008). These are the basic principles of queer space that this thesis takes as a starting point to gaining a nuanced and critical understanding of what is happening in Glasgow's queer public spaces. It is this framework that allows me to make claims about Glasgow's Pride spaces relationship with queer people in Glasgow.

My argument suggests Free Pride's critique of Pride Glasgow can be understood through the examination of the three interrelated themes. These three themes are radical politics, commodification, and exclusion, and in this literature review, I took each one in turn to examine what the literature suggests I reflect on in my research on Glasgow's Pride spaces. Firstly, the literature explored arguments that Pride is no longer political, along with counter arguments that suggest there are parties with politics. This literature suggests I need to assess what Free Pride considers to be a radical politics in light of the scholarship's discussion of the political purpose of Pride. Secondly, the literature provides critiques about the impacts of the commodification of Pride and the emergence of the gay consumer citizen within neoliberal urban politics. Examinations of the pink economy and homonormativity, suggest

how neoliberal and business interests commodify space at Pride so that the spaces come to constitute normative identities in line with the ideals of consumerism. Thirdly, the literature explores how non-normative LGBT people are often excluded from certain spaces through homonormative processes that have seen distinct identity categories emerge – good gay citizens and the queer unwanted. These two figures stand out as obvious concepts for understanding the identities that Free Pride and Pride Glasgow support and restrict. However, critiques of homonormativity will be considered to ensure care is taken in recognising the nuances of the groups that might not fit into these definitions. Further, some scholarship points to different sorts of queer space-making taking place in opposition to the mainstream that highlights the ways queers have already pushed back against critiques of Pride events and created their own inclusive spaces. I draw on this literature to conclude the development of my argument that Free Pride's activism begins to disrupt homonormative space and open up new queer possibilities for spaces and identities.

Chapter 3
Understanding the battle: Methodology
3.1 Introduction

To add to the current debate around the purpose of contemporary Pride events, this project undertakes a case study of the activities of Pride Glasgow and Free Pride; the two distinctive groups organising Pride events in the city of Glasgow in 2015 and 2016. I employ a queer methodological approach that undertakes a critical discourse analysis on data collected using three distinct methods: archival materials collected from 1994 to 2016 focussing on the history and development of Pride Glasgow's spaces, Pride Glasgow and Free Pride's conceptualisation of the nature of LGBT identities and space, and Free Pride's critique of Pride Glasgow's spaces; transcripts from interviews I conducted with five key informants from the Free Pride organising committee in 2016, that focused on understanding the group's critique of Pride Glasgow and its aims in creating alternative spaces in response. and; field notes from participant observation at the group's 2016 events that examined how the space was being set up and used, and by whom. The data are analysed using critical discourse analysis to detail the dominant discourses constituting the contested nature of the various spaces produced during the Pride events in 2015 and 2016.

In this chapter, I explain how my methodology is best suited for answering my research questions given the nature of the data being collected and the methods I employed. I start by briefly discussing queer methodologies, discourse analysis, and visual culture, before outlining each of my methods in turn. I conclude the chapter with a discussion of my positionality and how I deal with my insider knowledge given my participation as a founding member of Free Pride during the time covered by this case study.

3.2 Queer Methodology

In 'Queer Methods and Methodologies', Browne and Nash (2010: 4) argue that "queer research can be any form of research positioned within conceptual frameworks that highlight the instability of taken-for-granted meanings and resulting power relations". I position this thesis as queer research as it uses the queer theoretical framework around the importance of discourses in constituting the recursive relationship between subjects/identities and spaces developed in the previous chapter to develop a methodology that highlights the contingency

of dominant discourses in Glasgow. This queer framework understands that unequal power relations in Glasgow's public sphere have given some discourses surrounding Pride events dominance over others for the period included in the case study. This dominance has resulted in taken-for-granted meanings over Pride during this time, that are contested within debates surrounding the perceived limitations and exclusions of Pride spaces in Glasgow.

A queer methodology allows for an attentiveness to the openness, flexibility, and instability that queer theory seeks to uncover, by understanding discourses to be multiple, contingent, and always in the process of being reconstituted within changing power relations (Browne and Nash, 2010). As LGBT identities are constituted through contested discourses, the shifting nature of discourses within power relations means that identities are also multiple and fluid as they become constituted in changing ways. A geographic queer methodology also understands discourses to circulate through and within spaces, and to become embedded in space in geographically and historically specific ways. This means that what is possible in certain spaces is contingent on the dominant discourses that govern the expected practises and identities of the space. The dominance of and resistance to certain discourses embedded in space at any given time, opens up LGBT spaces as battlegrounds of competing meanings over what queer identities and queer(ed) public space could and should be (Nash, 2005).

The methods I chose to uncover the dominant discourses in Glasgow do not themselves have any inherent epistemological qualities that render them queer, but rather it is the way that I deployed them within the queer methodological framework that allows them to support queer epistemologies (Browne and Nash, 2010). To this end, there is a question over whether research investigating LGBT people needs to locate itself within anti-identitarian queer epistemologies to be considered queer research (Browne and Nash, 2010). Although queer theory rejects identity politics, the complex and contradictory merging of queer theory and LGBT activism requires a leniency in thinking through such politics at the grassroots level (Cottrill, 2006).

Although this thesis is producing research that rejects notions of essential sexual and gender identities, I should note, as I did in chapter 1, that the groups I am researching do not necessarily have the same queer conceptual understanding of identity and space. The concept of strategic essentialism describes how identity categories may be maintained by a minority group as a political tactic to build unity during a struggle for equal rights (Voronka, 2016).

Following strategic essentialism, it is possible to produce queer research while maintaining the identity politics required for the thesis to have political relevance and resonance with LGBT people. Similarly, for those organising pride events in Glasgow, there is a political need to maintain identity categories for political and personal purposes, and the very existence of their groups relies on this continued adherence to recognising identities[6].

3.3 Working with Discourses

Queer theory is poststructuralist in that it rejects the scientific truths claims made through modernist knowledge production (Peet, 1998). Within poststructuralism, power relations fix meanings and significance onto people, objects, practices, and events, with the world being discursively produced (Woodward et al., 2009). In a Foucauldian sense, discourses are systems of meaning comprised of ideas, concepts, and practices which systematically form the objects of which they speak within a set of power relations (Mills, 2004). As such, in its examination of people, objects, practices, and events, queer research often uses various forms of discourse analysis to consider how discourses, constituted hierarchically within power relations, operate so as to produce places and identities albeit fragmented, partial and contested (Browne and Nash, 2010: 6). Discourses do not exist in a vacuum, but rather are in constant conflict with other discourses in discursive battlegrounds, with the dominant systems of meaning varying geographically and historically (Mills, 2004). Geographers have argued that discourses are embedded and constituted within material spaces so that social relations in space are ordered to maintain expectations about identities and practices in certain spaces (Nash, 2005; McDowell, 1999)

Browne and Nash (2010: 5) recognize the influence of Foucault within queer methodologies that aim to understand sexuality and gender by 'teasing out the available knowledges and systems of meaning in circulation' within particular geographical locations and historical periods. They note a contemporary shift in scholarship on LGBT spaces to a focus on the way

[6] To elaborate, poststructural queer approaches have been critiqued for being largely detached from 'the blood, bricks and mortar of everyday life', with trans scholars in particular arguing against the problematic ways that experiences of being trans are appropriated by queer theorists to illustrate fluidity (Browne and Nash, 2010, p.6). In their book '*Excluded: Making Feminist and Queer Movements More Inclusive*', feminist and queer activist Julia Serano argues that while queer scholars are right to be suspicious of gender determinism, they should also be suspicious of gender artifactualism, which is the argument that gender is a social construct (Serano, 2013). They argue that people have 'profound, inexplicable desires to express our genders and sexualities in ways that do not conform to cultural norms' (Serano, 2013, p. 135). For Serano, social scientists should not overlook the role biology might play in forming subjectivity.

spaces are constituted, in multiple and partial ways, within and through competing discourses, with certain discourses becoming dominant over others. Foucauldian discourse analysis is concerned with expert knowledges that ground discourses within hierarchies of power. For Foucault, power is not something that any person can possess, but rather it is a relational environment where discourses operates within a hierarchy to give certain understandings dominance over others (Hay, 2003). Diverging from Gay Liberation theory that positioned resistance as always being opposed to power, Foucault positioned resistance as inseparable from power in that where there is power there is always resistance (Sullivan, 2003).

Nash (2005) argues that in any particular historical era, a number of competing expert knowledges will be in circulation. In the case of LGBT identities, these expert knowledges could be, for example, queer discourses arguing for the legitimacy of same sex relations, religious discourse that argue same sex relations are a sin, legal discourse that might argue same sex relations are criminal, and medical discourse that may argue homosexuality is a mental disorder (Nash, 2005). Nash goes on to argue that one particular set of knowledges will become dominant, albeit as unstable and contested, within the relations of power in that place at that time, with other knowledges further down the hierarchy being carrying less weight.

Discourse analysis does not necessarily need to deal with all competing expert knowledges (an impossible task), and this thesis instead chooses to examine the multiple and various discourses of Pride Glasgow and Free Pride, and the power relations that inform the ordering of their discourses in public. The discursive outputs of Pride Glasgow and Free Pride are produced within a productive model of power that allows for certain discourses to dominate over others within a set of relations that result in a shifting hierarchy. This output includes, but is not limited to, statements, practices, actions, symbols, and spatial arrangements. I undertake a discourse analysis to unravel the limitations and possibilities of queer space-making in Glasgow between 2015 and 2016. This discourse analysis will uncover the discourses present in the groups' public statements, interviews and related documents and embedded in their spaces to pick out the dominant discursive systems of meaning that underpin their organisation and the creation of temporarily queered public space (Mills, 2004).

3.4 Visual Culture

Visual culture describes the 'hyper-visuality' of contemporary culture, where visual experience is embedded in social, political, and cultural practices (Rose, 2014). It studies how groups and communities make meaning out of visual performances that are empirical accounts of the shared practices of a group (Rose, 2014). The LGBT community has a rich history of visual performances, where visual codes have been used by LGBT people in their everyday practices, for example through wearing clothing associated with gay and lesbian identities to help identify themselves to each another (Horne and Lewis, 2002). As such, visual images have been important in the cultural production of LGBT identities and spaces. The visual has also played an important part in queer activism, which has used visual art to spread its message and deployed protesting tactics to create spectacles that visually disrupt heteronormativity in public (Horne and Lewis, 2002). This is particularly true of activism at Pride events, which have been described to "represent the most visible and powerful initiatives organised by the LGBT movement" (Ammaturo, 2016: 19). This is following the understanding that their purpose is partly to increase the visibility of queer identities and performance. As such, it is impossible for this thesis to avoid exploring the visual aspect of Pride events.

Although this thesis project does not use visual methods to collect data, participant observation is in part a visual method through how it details observations of visual representations, and the archival research involved working with found visual material (Rose, 2014). Images I collected from the archives and detailed in my participant observation notes provided visual representation of past and present event spaces. These representations are discursive traces of social identities and performances, and "sites for the construction and depiction of social difference" (Rose, 2003: 213, 2014). In other words, these visual images are discourses and can be used as data for the project as they reflect the competing discourses of the groups. Following this, the meanings of these visual images were interpreted and included in the critical discourse analysis.

Throughout this thesis, I reproduce visual images such as maps, posters, and photographs. Although visual sources are investigative topics as well as simply illustrative sources (Ammatuto, 2016), when they are reproduced here it is for the sole purpose of illustrating the arguments of the thesis. As the reproduced images have been chosen to support the

arguments of the thesis, they are not neutral. However, an image is never neutral as there are always questions over what people are "able, allowed, or made to see" in visuals beyond the simple question of what is visible (Rose, 2003: 213). Much like queer identities, the meaning of a visual image is fluid and multiple (Rose, 2014).

3.5 Data Collection

To develop the arguments outlined in the introduction, the research design and data collection of this thesis project was initially guided by the following three research questions:

> 1) What are the dominant discourses underpinning Free Pride's critique of Pride Glasgow and the two groups' differing understandings of how pride events should be queering public space?
>
> 2) How does Free Pride constitute its alternative queer public spaces in light of its understanding of queer identities that frames this use of public space?
>
> 3) What are the implications of the constitution of Glasgow's Pride spaces in terms of expectations, norms, identities and possibilities 'of being' in the various public locations established by Free Pride and Pride Glasgow?

In this section of my methodology chapter, I discuss why I chose a case study methodology to answer these questions, as well as discussing the methods I use within the case study to gather the necessary data.

3.5.1 The Case Study Approach

A case study methodology was chosen as my research does not aim to make broad generalizations of alternative Pride events, but rather it aims to fully build an in-depth analysis of the events occurring in Glasgow (Yin, 2012). The 'pride war' between 2015 and 2016 manifested within a temporally and spatially specific network of power relations and discourses, which allowed for Pride Glasgow and Free Pride's particular knowledges of pride to develop (Crowley, 2009). While the case study approach does still allow me to draw some general conclusions about queer space-making and queer identities, the approach also allows

me to recognize the idiosyncrasies specific to Glasgow (Herod and Parker, 2010). As a holistic study, my research considers the full context in which Pride Glasgow and Free Pride manifest their visions of pride, and so lends itself well to answering my research questions with rich insight (Yin, 2012).

Glasgow was chosen as a case study to examine the discursive battle between alternative and mainstream Pride events over other cities that have alternative Pride events such as London, England and Paris, France, due to my familiarity with the case and my access to the group through pre-existing networks (Hyett et al., 2014). The events in Glasgow offer a timely and relevant case with potential to give valuable insights around contested LGBT space-making. As Glasgow's LGBT scene is smaller and less written about than those in bigger cities, it answers critique arguing that research on Pride and LGBT spaces is too concentrated on the same Global North cities. Although some scholars have argued that no generalizations can be made from case studies, others have argued that case studies can in fact produce "the best theory" (Flyvbjerg, 2006:11). While my thesis looks specifically at Glasgow, it will still be able to make a broader contribution to the scholarship on Pride. Within my case study I employ three methods of data collection – archival research, interviewing, and participant observation – that I outline in the following three subsections.

3.5.2 Archival Research

Within my case study, I use archival research to build a geographically specific history of LGBT pride organising in Glasgow that allows me to trace the development of the systems of meaning at play and explore the implications of past events on forming the discursive battleground surrounding pride in 2015 to 2016. My archival research specifically focuses on uncovering the history of Pride Glasgow's use of space. The first stage was to build a background of Pride in Glasgow. At the beginning of my archival research, I visited various archives to collect data. OurStory Scotland is a group who work with National Museums Scotland to build and preserve an archive LGBT history in Scotland. They are based at the Mitchell library in Glasgow, the largest public reference library in Europe. Further, there is a lesbian archive at the Glasgow Women's Library, and The National Library of Scotland also have a collection of LGBT archives. However, unfortunately, the one *Pride Scotland News* periodical from 1995 in the National Library of Scotland collection is representative of the small amount of physically archived material regarding Pride events in Scotland. Thankfully,

Scotsgay magazine, a magazine by and for LGBT people in Scotland, keeps an online archive of all its issues from 1994 to the present day. From this online archive, I examined all 259 past issues of the magazine to collect a total of 80 issues throughout the 23 years that included content related to Pride events in Glasgow. I also collected five issues of the more recently formed *Scene Alba* magazine that referenced pride in 2015. Pride Glasgow has also archived some of its recent Pride brochures online so I was able to collect the brochures for the last seven events since 2008.

The second stage of the archival research was to trace the public statements made by the groups within the 2014-2016 period. I collected press statements and blog posts that were posted online on the groups' webpages. In total, I collected 23 blog posts, public statements, and social media posts by Free Pride, 37 public statements and social media posts by Pride Glasgow, including the open letters that the groups sent to each other in 2015 and Free Pride's manifesto (Free Pride, 2015). As well as collecting written statements from the groups, I also collected visual materials from the groups. *Scotsgay* magazine has in its archive a collection of photographs from previous Pride events, and both Pride Glasgow and Free Pride produce visual material in the form of posters and flyers that I also collected. I then used web-scraping software, DEVONagent[7], to collect from the internet newspaper articles and interviews that quoted the groups, collecting 35 news articles with direct statements from either group. Also using DEVONagent, I ran web searches on various flashpoints relating to LGBT pride events that occurred between 2015 and 2016. This also included collecting content tracing other incidents of alternative activism against mainstream Pride that took place within the same time, for example the actions of the Black Lives Matter protesters at Toronto Pride 2016. The reason for this was to have the data to not only place what happened in Glasgow between 2015 and 2016 in the context of Glasgow's LGBT pride organising history, but to also place it in the wider context of what was happening at LGBT pride events worldwide at the time.

3.5.3 Interviews

After using archival research to build a database with the background on Pride necessary to build the context of the research within Glasgow, interviews with key informants provide

[7] DEVONagent is a data retrieval software program that can be used collect data from the internet. See website (2017, May) URL: devontechnologies.com (date last accessed: 03/05/2017)

current data to build the case study[8]. Interviews with key informants involved in organising Free Pride provided insight into the circulating and contested systems of meaning present in Glasgow and shaping how Pride events constituted identities and public space. Key informants can provide insider knowledge about how queer identities and spaces are formed in Glasgow. Grassroots activists are arguably 'the experts' of their actions, having a particular narrative about what they understood themselves to be doing that highlights the systems of meaning in play (Secor, 2010). My informants' identities as the activists provides a crucial ground of experience and a source of social knowledge (Halperin and Traub, 2009). To set up the interviews with members of the Free Pride organising committee, I drew on pre-existing networks established during my time in Free Pride in 2015. In total, I interviewed the five people that hold the five key roles within the committee relevant to this project.

I also contacted Pride Glasgow by emailing its chairperson with my request to undertake interviews. However, Pride Glasgow advised, perhaps not surprisingly, that due to the circumstances around my research and my involvement in Free Pride, they would not take the decision to be interviewed lightly. They requested that I provide a copy of my questions, but despite doing so and sending on reminders about my request I never heard back from them again. Prior to holding my interviews, I informed all participants of what would be expected from their involvement. I complied with the requirements of Brock Research Ethics Board in terms of providing letters of explanation and obtaining the required consent (Strike and Guta, 2013). Three of the interviews took place face to face at locations comfortable for the participants, which turned out to be local coffee shops within the city centre of Glasgow. The other two interviews took place over Skype. Care was taken to ensure that the location allowed for appropriate privacy and confidentiality. The interviews were semi-structured, allowing for the interviewee to alter the direction and content of the interview when necessary, while ensuring sufficient detail was given to answer my initial aims (Crang and Cook, 2007). All interviews were recorded using voice recording equipment, and notes were also taken during the interview by myself. After the interviews took place I transcribed the recordings, a process involving repeated listens to pay close attention to what was being said and how it was being said (Poland, 1995).

[8] The research took place with REB approval. Ethics clearance was granted and a Certification of Ethics Clearance for Human Participant Research was received from Brock University Social Science Research Ethics Board on 06/06/2016. File number 15-287 – NASH. Interviews were undertaken within REB approval guidelines to conform to the University's ethical standards and the Tri-Council Policy Statement

3.5.4 Participant Observation

The final method I choose to undertake for my data collection within my case study was participant observation at Pride Glasgow and Free Pride's 2016 events. The 2016 pride events on Saturday 20th and Sunday 21st August provided a perfect opportunity to observe the workings of the groups on the day to see how their spaces were being constituted. To begin my weekend of participant observation, I attended the pride parade organised by Pride Glasgow in which Free Pride had a marching bloc. I then attended the Free Pride day-time and night-time events on the Saturday, and the Pride Glasgow daytime event on the Sunday, for which I purchased a ticket in advance. As well as attending its main pride events in 2016, I also attended five other public events organised by Free Pride in 2016 and one of its summer planning meetings. At the events, I would observe and take down extensive notes in my notebook documenting what I was seeing. In the week following the events, I typed up my field notes into a word document. When making notes at the events, attention was given to the physical space of the events and the interactions, practices and performances that were taking place within the spaces (following guidelines in Allsop et al., 2010; Crang and Cook, 2007). I also took photographs, as traces of the things that were visible, and collected event-photographs released by Pride Glasgow and Free Pride.

In their 2006 paper "Undressing the researcher", Bain and Nash discuss the complex considerations that researchers face when undertaking embodied participant observation. First, before undertaking research in a Toronto Women's Bathhouse, the pair expressed a need to first come to terms with their own feelings on the space before entering it as researchers and as lesbians: "as lesbian women, the nature of the project demanded that we reflect on our own embodiment and what it means to place our lesbian bodies and identities in deliberately sexualised space (Bain and Nash, 2006: 101). Similarly, for my project, I needed to reflect on my position as a Glaswegian gay man in Pride spaces where I would be expected to participate and not just observe. For Nash and Bain, the decision was made that they would not engage in sexual activity while in the Bathhouse, but where does that leave me? Part of the reasoning behind undertaking a project exploring what activists believe to be the purpose of Pride is the idea that Pride events are important for LGBT people. Was I willing to let this self-affirming event that only happens once a year pass me by in order to maintain my position as a researcher for the whole weekend? Before attending my participant observation events, I made the decision that I would not stay in my role as observer for the

full duration of the event, to allow myself time to enjoy the event as a non-observing participant.

Second, Nash and Bain detail the challenges they faced in dressing their bodies for the sexualised space of the Bathhouse. Again, I faced similar issues in my fieldwork when deciding what to wear for attending the weekend's Pride events. Although there are no rules over what to wear, and although I did not feel pressure to dress a certain way, I did still have a desire to use the event as an opportunity for myself to dress in a way I wanted to but would not normally feel comfortable doing. For the daytime events, I wore my usual jeans and a shirt, but for the Free Pride night time event I wore a long black dress covered with a white tank top. Bain and Nash argued that their outfit choices gave them "confidence" and "perhaps contributed to our sense of ease" (2006: 102). Interestingly for me, the difference between the two spaces I was undertaking participant observation within meant I ended up feeling more at ease wearing a gender non-conforming outfit in one of the group's spaces, and more at ease wearing gender conforming outfits in the other group's spaces. Not only were the events a research opportunity to gain data for the project, but so too were they a personal opportunity for me to gain insight into my own comfort surrounding my sexuality and gender in public. The choosing of different outfits in different spaces also allowed me insight into "the rituals and expectations of participation" within the spaces (Bain and Nash, 2006: 205).

3.6 Critical Discourse Analysis

My previous experience with Free Pride meant that coming into the project I had a prior knowledge of the group's actions and spaces. Particularly, I was aware that Free Pride's manifesto listed anti-commercialisation, inclusivity, and protest, as three main foci of activism. Following from this, whilst reviewing the academic literature I found certain themes to emerge in the scholarship critiquing contemporary mainstream Pride events. These themes surrounded debates over a loss of radical politics at Pride, commodification of and at Pride events, and exclusions that arise at Pride. Although broad, I was able to make preliminary connections between these prominent key themes and my prior knowledge of Free Pride. Hence, I decided to use the three themes as signposts for investigating how the Pride debates in my case study surfaced.

All of the documents I collected during my data collection process, including the archival documents, my interview transcripts, and my participant observation field notes, were brought together and uploaded into a DEVONthink database[9]. Discourse analysis involves the development and implementation of a coding framework with strict parameters, designed to highlight key discourses within a rigorous analysis of collected data (Roth, 2005). Information is coded into relevant categories such that dominant systems of meaning are pulled out from the data (Roth, 2005). My data analysis began with a process of teasing out the dominant themes within the collected data using the three themes from the literature as a preliminary guide. At the end of this process, there was a large amount of coded data within each of the three themes from the literature to account for their significance relevant to the case study. The categories become saturated such that no significant other categories formed and no new information was being added to the category. Data with no or little relevance to any main category was discarded, as there was only a small amount of coded data that did not fit into any of the three categories, and there was no obvious fourth category that this data fitted into.

As this thesis follows a queer framework that understands identity and space to be recursively constituted through discourses, I had to reconcile a relationship between the three key thematic categories and the notion of discourse. Within the literature, the themes of radical politics, commodification, and exclusion are not framed as discourses. However, this thesis recognises that using the notion of 'discourse' allows investigation of how ideas surrounding radical politics, commodification, and exclusion become embedded in the space. Diverging from the literature by looking at the three themes as discourses allows them to be studied not as generic and broad, but in specific and nuanced ways sensitive of spatial context within Glasgow.

Within my analysis, I created data-driven subcategories within the three main thematic categories to separate and group data in order to reveal the nuances of the discourses. If coded data was relevant for more than one thematic category or subcategory, it was included in all the relevant subcategories and the overlap between the categories was noted. For example, under the thematic category of commodification, subcategories formed around data coded as related to sponsorship, corporate presence, and entry costs. This allowed me to

[9] DEVONthink is a data management software program that can be used to store, organise, and analyse documents. See website (2017, May) URL: devontechnologies.com (date last accessed: 03/05/2017)

examine the details of how discourses surrounding commodification were manifesting in specific forms relevant for Pride Glasgow and Free Pride. At the end of this data analysis stage, I had the data necessary to develop the core arguments for this thesis and I began the process of writing up and redrafting the final paper. Once complete, the final thesis will be distributed to both Free Pride and Pride Glasgow.

3.7 Positionalities and Reflexivity

Given my prior involvement with Free Pride, I end this chapter with a reflection on my positionality and a consideration about how my various subjectivities and identities interacted with the research process. Within queer poststructural frameworks, there is a rejection of the notion that researchers are objective, and from this rejection there is a need to think reflexively about how our fluid and multiple identities influence our understandings of what we are researching (Browne and Nash, 2010). During the research process, I regularly examined how my subjectivities and identities were informing what I was doing. In the vein of decolonising knowledge, I acknowledged my positions as being abled bodied, white, cis-gendered, male/man, homosexual, and middle class, and did my best to recognise the privileges and oppressions from these identities that would shape the production of knowledge of my thesis. I do also recognise that simply acknowledging this is not enough in itself to decolonise knowledge production (see Tuhiwai Smith, 1999). Recognising my positionality allows me to acknowledge that the knowledge produced by this thesis, like that produced by any other research project, is not neutral or universal (Rose, 1997). My positionality situates this research as queer, but also as masculine, and white, and this situation means that its knowledges may exclude or be in opposition to knowledges from other perspectives (Rose, 1997).

Mosser (2008: 385) argues that as well as recognising that we belong to different "social categories that position us differently within power structures", we also need to recognise our personalities as a relevant aspect of ourselves to reveal in the research process. In order for me to attend Pride events and interview organisers, I need to have certain qualities that give me the ability to successfully perform the roles of Pride participant and interviewer. Perhaps then, as well as acknowledging that I am a gay, white, man etc., I should also acknowledge that I am anti-misogyny, anti-racism, anti-transphobia, anti-homophobia, anti-biphobia etc. I do this as paying attention to personality requires paying attention to how your own held

beliefs impact your interactions with others. During my interactions with participants I aimed to always be smiling and welcoming, with an aim of making sure the participant enjoyed their experience.

Important to discuss here is my involvement in the Free Pride group prior to undertaking this research, which positions me as an insider of the group. This insider status means the fieldwork is taking place in my own personal social and political spaces (Nash, 2010). However, as my research took place one year after the end of my involvement in Free Pride, the unfixed and dynamic conceptualisation of the spaces within my research field complicates my claim as an insider, as understandings within the group may have changed (Nash, 2010). As one of the founding volunteers of the group, I played a role in creating and shaping the 2015 event and its social media. I attended and chaired some planning meetings, ran the social media pages alongside other people, and volunteered at the 2015 event. This involvement meant that during the undertaking of this research I was either already friends with or became friends with the other volunteers in the group, and that I was a part of the political activism surrounding Free Pride's purpose.

This insider status was, in part, beneficial to me in how it gave me a certain level of legitimacy for interviewing and undergoing participant observation with the Free Pride group. However, it also created a stigma around me in the eyes of Pride Glasgow, who may have viewed my subjectivity as being detrimental to giving a fair critique to the two groups (see Dwyer and Buckle, 2009). This highlights a tension between my role as an academic researcher and as a participant in Free Pride due to perceived loyalty-tugs between the roles. To avoid vested interests in Free Pride undermining the integrity of the project, I needed to ensure that I entered the project with an open mind, being prepared to challenge my own beliefs (see Dwyer and Buckle, 2009). That being said, queer scholars have challenged the perspective that researchers need to avoid becoming invested in a particular research outcome or being too close to the research. They have argued that queer methodology is orientated toward intimate connections with participants, access gained through subcultural belonging, and greater comfort with closeness, including the presence of sexuality (Ward, 2008).

Cupples (2002: 383) has argued that it is "impossible to escape our sexuality in the field", and that sexuality should therefore be acknowledged as a legitimate area of enquiry impacting knowledge production. They argue that there is both an "erotic component" of

research in which researchers are "seduced by the field", and that others in our research spaces will position us as sexual beings even if we aim to put aside our sexuality (2002:383). Although I did not engage in sexual activity during the time of my research, some of the people I interviewed are people who I have been in a relationship with, had sex with, kissed, or had sexual and romantic feelings for. As "sex and sexuality are to a large extent about interaction with others" (Cupples, 2002: 838), reflecting on how these past interactions may have impacted the research allows me to recognise that my sexual subjectivity shifted and was governed by the research process. While I did not feel there was any sexual tension between researcher and participants, it is also true that the queer positioning of the participants meant that I did not feel pressure to conceal my sexuality in the research process. In fact, acknowledging my sexuality may have enriched the research process through creating a welcoming environment in which the participants felt comfortable not to conceal their sexuality or sexual feelings (Cupples, 2002).

Moreover, while I may be able to make claims about being an insider due to my prior involvement in Free Pride, I am also an outsider in other respects due to boundaries between social positions within Free Pride (Nash, 2010). This means that although I have, to some extent, a shared understanding with others in Free Pride's space, I do not experience it in the same way as, for example, trans people or queer people of colour might experience it, due to the mutual constitution of sexuality, gender, race, and class (Valentine, 2002). Therefore, when considering positionalities, it was not enough just to consider my own, but to also consider the positionalities of my participants. Particularly, I had to take care in recognising the range of oppressions that the participants of my research may be experiencing as more marginalised members of the LGBT community, for example trans individuals, and people with disabilities. By admittedly only partially recognising the power relations operating between the research participants and myself, I was conscious of trying to avoid recreating oppressions in my research (see Kobayashi, 2009). The hoped impact was to dismantle the power hierarchy and make my participants feel comfortable so I would not be putting them at any risk beyond what they would face day to day. Following my ethical requirements, I did my best to be respectful of the emotional impact participating in the research could have had on the participants (see Bosworth, 2005). As well as achieving clearance from the university ethics board, Ward (2008) urges consideration of the queer ethics that circulate within queer spaces. This meant that while being present at Free Pride and Pride Glasgow's events, I had

to consider the ethics of the space that I was in, in that I had to consider the group's rules for appropriate behaviour in its spaces.

My dual positionality as researcher and activist within Free Pride had implications for data collection. I felt that key informants' familiarity and friendship with me allowed for a more rapid and complete building of trust to occur. However, I also worried that the shift in their relationship with me from fellow activist to researcher would cause them to act more cautiously and change how comfortable they felt being around me and sharing their thoughts with me. To cope with this, I did my best to produce a respectful research relationship with them by being open and transparent about my research intentions.

It should be noted that the Gay Shame academic conference organised in 2003 by academics looking to explore the idea of using shame as a flip side to pride, was critiqued by the activists that founded the Gay Shame alternative pride events. Activists argued that academics were appropriating their lived struggles and activism (Mattilda, 2008). In turn, the organisers of the conference critiqued the activists for appropriating the discourses of shame and of being ignorant of how these discourses predated their activism (Halperin and Traub, 2009). In this conflict between academics and activists, it is challenging to think of how I may have avoided or fallen into the trap of appropriation. Did I educate myself and appreciate enough the longer history of gay shame and alternative activism when I was an activist in Free Pride? And now that I am an academic writing my thesis on Free Pride, am I appropriating my friends' ongoing activist efforts for my personal career aims? Feminist researchers have examined these questions and raised concern to whom feminist research should be accountable to (Hassim and Walker, 1992). It has been argued that "academics are not the research assistants of the struggle", and so critical research on activism is not appropriative as it does not uncritically follow 'the party line' but seeks to critically represent the politics of the struggle within the literature (Hassim and Walker, 1992: 83). It is therefore my hope that by writing my thesis on the group that I was previously involved in, I escape the critique of appropriating my activism. I hope instead to be giving it legitimacy as a movement by making a record of it in the academic literature, and bridging a gap between activists and academics (Browne and Bakshi, 2013).

3.8 Summary of the Methodology

In this methodology chapter, I outlined the methods I used within my case study to answer my research questions and build my arguments. By collecting data through archival research, interviews, and participant observation, and then analysing it using a discursive analysis, I created a database highlighting the systems of meaning underpinning Free Pride's critique of Pride Glasgow's space and the constitution of its own spaces. Through the questions asked and the analysis of the collected archival work and field notes, I have the data to understand the groups' understandings of queer identities, and to assess the implications of this for the possibilities of being queer in the spaces. My queer methodological framework outlined at the start of this chapter understands discourses to be embedded in material spaces, and spaces and identities to be recursively produced, so that certain spaces have certain performance expectations. It is this framework that guided my methods and allows me to make the arguments of this thesis.

Chapter 4
Free Pride's Critique of Pride Glasgow's Spaces – An Analysis
4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I draw on interview transcripts with five organisers of Free Pride, along with participant observation notes and documents released by Free Pride and Pride Glasgow online, to examine Free Pride's critique of Pride Glasgow's event spaces. I begin the chapter by describing Pride Glasgow's spaces as they manifested in 2015 and 2016 to give the reader an understanding of the spaces Free Pride were critiquing. I then analyse the spaces in respect to the three key interrelated themes of this thesis – radical politics, commodification, and exclusion. In Chapter 2, I discussed how these were 3 dominant themes in the current literature exploring debates surrounding Pride events in Western countries. From my critical discursive analysis, I found Free Pride's critique to mirror this academic critique, with these three themes being the three dominant sets of discourses central to Free Pride's understanding of its activism and aims.

In this chapter, I take each set of discourses in turn to outline Free Pride's arguments and link it to the literature, showing how these arguments point to Free Pride having a perception of Pride Glasgow's spaces as being homonormative. However, while I may show that Free Pride had good reason to challenge what it saw as Pride Glasgow's constitution of homonormative space, as this chapter progresses I also demonstrate that Pride Glasgow's spaces are more complex and contradictory than claims of homonormativity allow. Overall, I argue that although Free Pride aims to challenge what it perceives as homonormative space, there are other ways of understanding Pride Glasgow's spaces that complicate Free Pride's critique. In making this argument, I answer my first research question which is to pick out the various dominant discourses underpinning Free Pride's critique of Pride Glasgow and its differing discourses about how pride events ought to be queering public space. I also partly answer my third research question which is to understand the implications of the constitutions of Glasgow's Pride spaces on expectations, norms, identities, and possibilities of being in the spaces established at the groups' events.

Figure 4.1: Site Map of Pride Glasgow's 2015 event. This image shows the layout of Pride Glasgow's 2015 event, highlighting the different spaces within their event. (Pride Glasgow, Brochure, 2015)

4.2 The Spaces of Pride Glasgow

Pride Glasgow initially formed as Pride Scotia (Glasgow) in 2004, before changing its name to Pride Glasgow in 2008, and registering as a charity in 2012. For the duration of this case study between 2015 and 2016, the group was run by three salaried members of staff, with its chair and deputy chair both being white gay men (Pride Glasgow, Brochure, 2015). As well as the paid staff, the group also relied on a team of volunteers hired through its Pride Life programme to run its events[10]. Between 2004 and 2012 the group organised a one day Pride event every second summer, before turning it into an annual event in 2012, and into a two-day festival in 2015. The 2015 and 2016 two day festivals examined in this case study took place in the city's Glasgow Green, a large park in the east end of the city just a short walk

[10] Pride Life is the program through which Pride Glasgow recruit and train volunteers to help run their event. Under the title of Pride Ambassador, volunteers are expected to put in at least 4 hours of work over the weekend of the festival in exchange for free entry into the festival, a t-shirt, a meal, and invitations to social events throughout the year.

from the city centre (see Map 1). This space is separated into the main stage area, the community stage area, the marketplace, the community expo, youth and family areas, the V.I.P. area, bars, a fairground, and space for a dog show (see figure 4.1). Every year the event has a different theme with an accompanying slogan that the event becomes marketed around. In 2015, the theme of "Be Happy" was chosen to celebrate the progress made in Scotland during Pride's 20-year history in the country. 2016's theme of "Be yourself" aimed to encourage participants to be bold, brave, and showcase themselves at Pride. The event has been immensely popular in both years, with 12, 500 people taking part in the 2015 festival (Pride Glasgow, Brochure, 2016).

In both years, the main stage area is where the festival's scheduled entertainment takes place (see Appendix 1). Comprising a large raised platform surrounded by pride branding, the main stage hosts established drag performers, musicians, and comedians for the duration of the event. As the entertainment takes place, the large open space in front of the main stage becomes crowded with people dancing and enjoying themselves, with some people waving flags or sitting on each other's shoulders. Close to the stage are two bars, where groups of people stand chatting and drinking. Further from the stage, groups of attendees sit on the grass to socialize and a constant stream of people move around the various spaces in the park. In 2015, a second stage, known as the Community Big Top Tent, was set up beside the main stage to hold performances by circus performers and local LGBT artists. This space did not return in 2016, and so the performances by established acts on the main stage became the only entertainment option. Both years had a VIP area to one side of the stage, marked out with fencing that restricted access to only those with VIP wristbands. The space provided VIP hospitality, with "luxury toilets", meet and greets with acts, a free welcome drink and massage, and other free gifts. The marketplace comprised a small number of stalls from various commercial companies selling products to those in attendance. Rainbow flags and other rainbow coloured goods such as umbrellas, wristbands, badges, and whistles were sold here. These represent goods specifically created for sale at Pride events, where rainbow coloured items have become synonymous with showing Pride. In 2016, Pride Glasgow introduced its own merchandise for sale, including Pride Glasgow branded t-shirts.

Similar to the marketplace, the community expo is another area comprising of stalls, but here the stalls are hosted by groups looking to give out information as opposed to selling goods. This area is much bigger than the marketplace, with around 70 stalls. Stalls are divided by

charities, organisations, and businesses, so while there are stalls for local LGBT charities, there are also stalls for the army, the police, banks, and other commercial corporations. Beside the community expo is the youth space. In 2015, the youth space was set up specifically for 13-25 year olds, to provide fun and games for younger LGBT people. Young people could gain entry to this space without having to buy a ticket. In 2016, a family area with magicians, face painting, an owl show, and a picnic area, was included to support people coming to the event with small children. In previous years, the event had women-only spaces, and in 2014 there was a trans tent with changing room facilities and a social space for transgender people.

In 2015 and 2016, Pride Glasgow gained most of its income from money raised via the festival, through sponsorship, the selling of tickets, and renting stall space (Pride Glasgow, Brochure, 2016). Festival income comprised 92% of its income in 2015, with 2% coming from grants, 1% coming from donations, and 5% miscellaneous income (Pride Glasgow, Brochure, 2016). In 2014, Barclays bank was the main sponsor of the event. In 2015 and 2016, the main sponsors for the event were The Polo Lounge, and AXM, two LGBT nightclubs in Glasgow. Other sponsors in these years included various other LGBT organisations, along with hotels and supermarkets. Since 2014, the event has been ticketed, with a wristband being needed to enter all spaces of the event. To enforce this spatial arrangement, a metal fence was erected around the perimeter of the park. Part of Pride Glasgow's reasoning for introducing entry costs was due to a lack of funding from Glasgow City Council. The cost of a weekend pass was 12 GBP, with a one day pass costing 8 GBP, and entry to the VIP area costing 55 GBP[11] (Pride Glasgow, Website B, 2017).

4.3 Understanding Free Pride's Critique

In 2015, Free Pride formed in response to concerns about how Pride Glasgow was using public space at its event. This was in direct response to Pride Glasgow charging entry costs for the second year in a row, which Free Pride regarded as exclusionary for certain LGBT people:

[11] In Canadian Dollars at the time, 12 GBP was 20.19 CAD, 8 GBP was 13.46 CAD, and 55 GBP was 92.55 CAD, with an exchange rate of 1 GBP = 1.68 CAD

> In 2014 Pride Glasgow painted the entry fee as a one-off thing due to the commonwealth games. Although they never explicitly said that it would go back to being free the next year, people weren't expecting it to be ticketed again. So, when it not only was ticketed again but when they also raised the prices as well, we realised it wasn't just a one off and we were really unhappy about that (Free Pride Organiser B, Interview, 2016).

In a blog post, Free Pride clarified its position, arguing that it "is not the case" that Free Pride is "only driven to action by the fact that Pride Glasgow charge for the attendance of their events" as having a free event is not Free Pride's "only fight" (Free Pride, Blog Post A, 2015). Rather, in my interviews, Free Pride organisers explained that Free Pride was set up due to a growing concern that Pride Glasgow were prioritising "all the wrong things":

> There has been a feeling for a while that Pride isn't for everyone; a feeling that it has become really commercial; that it has become just a big party, a piss up in the park, that isn't a safe space for everyone, or inclusive enough (Free Pride Organiser B, Interview, 2016).

The literature discussed in Chapter 2 supports my focus on Free Pride's critique of Pride Glasgow's use of space being understood through three key sets of discourses surrounding radical politics, commodification, and exclusion. As discussed in Chapter 3, the critical discourse analysis for this project made it clear that these three sets of discourses were prominent in data collected for my Glasgow case study, with enough data gathered to support the importance of each set of discourses and no others standing out as important. In its output, Free Pride has framed Pride Glasgow's space as commodified, assimilationist, and "the embodiment of so many things that are wrong with mainstream Pride festivals" (Free Pride, Open Letter, 2015). But why did Free Pride understand Pride Glasgow as being 'mainstream' and 'wrong'? In this section, I answer part of my first research question by presenting the findings of my analysis which reveal radical politics, commodification, and exclusion to be the three dominant sets of discourses underpinning Free Pride's critique.

4.3.1 Radical Politics

Debates in the LGBT community over how to use public space for expressing vindication of non-heteronormative performances have been and are constant. These debates key on the controls governing which LGBT identities get overtly represented in public spaces (Enguix, 2009). The notion of radical politics is used in the literature to describe a set of political values that seek to challenge normative structures within society (Warner, 1999). A queer radical politics is thus arguably centred around challenging inequalities, insecurities, and the processes of marginalisation associated with heteronormativity (Johnston and Waitt, 2015). However, the political goal of many Pride events seems to have shifted from resisting and living outside normative structures to assimilating into them, with this assimilation being viewed as producing homonormativity in opposition to a radical politics (Seidman, 1993; Warner, 1999). Pride events associated with assimilationist politics represent an image of the LGBT community that aims to position LGBT people as the same as heteronormative society in every way except for their sexual behaviour (Kerrell, 1992). This aim challenges inequality between LGBT people and heterosexuals by accepting LGBT people who live their lives in ways that can be seen as homonormative, for example coupled LGBT parents, and LGBT professionals (Kerrell, 1992). However, homonormative politics of assimilation leave unchallenged inequalities that exist within the LGBT community, and it is because of this that there is a push back from some LGBT people against assimilation (Enguix, 2009).

Free Pride launched its campaign by releasing an open letter to Pride Glasgow on social media explaining why they were contesting Pride Glasgow's use of space. Free Pride also released a Manifesto outlining the alternative values held by Free Pride activists that shaped what Free Pride was aiming to achieve. In this material, Free Pride critiqued Pride Glasgow as no longer being politically relevant and suggesting that Pride is only relevant when it remains a form of protest (Free Pride, Manifesto, 2015). However, archival data collected on Pride in Scotland throughout the 1990s suggests that Pride in Scotland has never had protesting as its main focus (*Scotsgay*, Issue 40, 2001). Nevertheless, that Pride events might not have a local political history arguably does not excuse them from critiques by activists over their lack of political content (Hughes, 2006). Free Pride reminded Pride Glasgow that although Scotland's first pride was not a protest, "the first Pride" to ever take place "was a protest against the violence, erasure and abuse of LGBT people that has been carried out against us for decades" (Free Pride, Open Letter, 2015). Free Pride uses the politics of early

North American Pride events in the 1970s as justification for the argument that Pride needs to 'go back' to being a protest. This suggests Free Pride argues that current Pride events in Glasgow should match Pride's historic purpose of disrupting heterosexual society through protests in public space (Valentine, 1993). Free Pride sees Pride Glasgow's focus on creating entertainment and commercial spaces as illustrating that Pride Glasgow "is no longer" honouring the radical politics of Pride events (Free Pride, Open Letter, 2015).

Free Pride's critique of Pride Glasgow's lack of protesting demonstrates an understanding that a radical politics for Pride should involve getting people to "come together and demand more for those of us who still face injustice" (Free Pride, Open Letter, 2015). However, as the LGBT movement has achieved more gains under equality discourses since the first Pride events in the early 1970s, one can argue that the radical politics which were historically necessary to achieve inclusion in public space are no longer necessary (Ghaziani, 2011). Instead of creating a platform for 'angry politics', current Pride spaces are arguably more useful in the contemporary period for forming public social spaces for LGBT people and straight allies (Sullivan, 2005). Pride events are thus seen to have swapped their radical politics for a 'feel good politics', celebrating the inclusion of sexuality diversity in society (Johnston and Waitt, 2015). Pride Glasgow's use of space arguably reflects this desire to provide social spaces for Glasgow's LGBT community to celebrate their past and ongoing achievements in the Scottish context. However, Free Pride argues that providing social space is not mutually constitutive to, and should not make obsolete, the production of protest space. The organisers believe that creating space informed by a radical politics will produce a more welcoming social space attuned to the needs of specific Pride participants:

> Both those things go hand in hand I guess. Being political means we are talking about transphobia, and racism, and disabilities, and having conversations which mainstream spaces aren't having. This means we are making a nicer space for queer people to exist in on their own (Free Pride Organiser C, Interview, 2016).

Figure 4.2: Pride Glasgow's Logo. This figure shows Pride Glasgow's rainbow colour Lion Rampant logo that they used for their events in 2015 and 2016 (Pride Glasgow, Logo, 2017)

Free Pride has concerns that Pride Glasgow's politics may be making Pride Glasgow spaces unwelcoming for trans people, people of colour, and people with disabilities. By 'not having conversations' surrounding the specific oppressions impacting these people's use of public space, Pride Glasgow's politics have been perceived by Free Pride as homonormative by focusing on the certain kind of good gay citizen discussed in Chapter 2. Free Pride is arguing that by overlooking the needs of others, Pride Glasgow's spaces are favouring normatively gendered individuals, who are able bodied and white.

Moreover, not only does Free Pride see Pride Glasgow's spaces as delineating a certain kind of good gay citizen, this perceived homonormativity is interrelated with homonationalism that aligns this appropriate sexual identity with a Scottish identity. Homonationalism is a concept which describes the processes through which LGBT rights becomes attached to nationalist ideology in order to constitute Western countries as progressive and accepting, and other countries as backward and intolerant (Puar, 2007). Similar to pinkwashing, homonationalism is critiqued for overlooking homophobia in the West and using LGBT recognition to cover up or justify other injustices (Puar, 2007).

This homonationalism is reproduced in Pride Glasgow's marketing of its event. In 2015 and 2016, Pride Glasgow focussed on marketing its event as "Scotland's Biggest LGBTI festival" (Pride Glasgow, Brochure, 2015). In this time, Pride Glasgow's logo has been a rainbow coloured Lion Rampant – a national symbol of Scotland (figure 4.2). This focus on Scotland

aligns the group with nationalist discourses. Pride Glasgow takes pride in the progress made in Scotland, a country that has historically been an unwelcoming space for non-heteronormative genders and sexualities, towards being more accepting of LGBT people (Meek, 2015). However, celebrating inclusion through nationalist discourses works to maintain the privileging of heterosexuality and related homonormative practices of monogamy, coupledom, normative gender expression, marriage and middle-class aesthetic (Seidman, 2002). The aligning of nationalist discourses with LGBT identities allows for the regulation of sexuality so that performances adhere to societal norms rather than resist them (Binnie, 1995). As homosexuality represents a threat to the ordering of the modern nation-state (Conrad, 2001), nationalist discourses permit the inclusion of only those unthreatening 'good gay citizens' (Binnie, 1995). Thus, it might not just be the boundaries of the Scottish identity that have shifted to include LGBT identities, but also that LGBT identities have altered to fit inside the boundary of national identity.

This focus on a Scottish identity and celebrating past LGBT achievements in Scotland arguably dilutes the radical potential of the event spaces, by leaving out those 'bad' gay citizens who are other-ed as not acceptable within normative nationalist discourses (Binnie, 1995). Free Pride's open letter argues that Pride Glasgow with its focus on celebration, is "no longer protecting the most marginalised in our community" that cannot yet celebrate their acceptance in public space (Free Pride, Open Letter, 2015). Instead, Free Pride argues that Pride Glasgow's spaces silence those who still see Pride as a necessary space for political protest: "Real issues that continue to affect the LGBTQIA+ community are ignored in favour of celebrating gay marriage" (Free Pride, Open Letter, 2016)[12].

It is this dismissal of 'angry politics' in favour of celebratory social spaces and more acceptable politics surrounding domesticity and marriage that highlights 'the trouble with normal', with the 'depoliticising' of LGBT identities (Warner, 1999; Duggan, 2002; Ghaziani, 2011). Free Pride seeks to keep identities politicised by focussing current Pride events on issues still affecting the community. In doing so, Free Pride is using an imagined

[12] The additional QIA+ stands for Queer, Intersex, Asexual, and other. Queer, in Free Pride's case, refers not to any specific sexual or gender identity, or an umbrella term for any LGBT identity, but rather to a positioning of oneself outside of normative sexual and gender identification; Intersex refers to individuals who were born with sexual anatomy that does not fit into either binary female or male category; Asexual refers to individuals who do not experience sexual attraction; and the plus symbol signifies other sexual and gender identities not covered by the previous letters.

past to "search for viable forms of queerness as alternatives to standardised, and standard-enforcing, gayness" (Caron, 2009: 120). Browne and Bakshi (2013, p. 160) contend that these "debates surrounding the politics of Pride events place the here and now in opposition with a romanticised there and then". However, Free Pride challenges the idea that its desire for protest comes from a 'romanticised' vision of the past, by highlighting the "violence, erasure, and abuse" that they believe still needs to be protested: "From the harassment and violence levelled at the Trans community to the treatment of LGBTQIA+ asylum seekers, we are continually reminded that society isn't for us and that needs to change" (Free Pride, Manifesto, 2015). Citing the violence still faced by LGBT people challenges the idea that this violence has been mitigated through the assimilationist politics that has dominated mainstream Pride events (Ghaziani, 2011).

Moreover, Pride Glasgow's celebratory assimilationist politics results in forming a party atmosphere around its main stage. This partying is perceived as another signal of a move away from Pride's radical past. However, Hughes (2006) makes the point that the partying at Pride is almost as old as the politics. Taking the example of Sydney's Mardi Gras event, he argues that partying was incorporated into Pride events within the first four years of its existence (Hughes, 2006). As Browne and Bakshi (2013, p. 161) state, "the binary of party or politics is often retained with an understanding that parties cannot be political." It is argued that "while Pride events may no longer be the sites of resistance that they were 20 or 30 years ago, they are still politically important" (Johnston and Waitt, 2015: 115). This means that while Pride Glasgow's focus on celebration might be at odds with a radical nature of pride, being de-radicalised does not render the event apolitical (Browne, 2007b). As some scholars argue, this kind of party space at Pride can be regarded as political given how it provides space for LGBT people to exist and perform behaviours they may not be able to do in these same public spaces when it is not Pride (Browne and Bakshi, 2013).

Despite these possibilities, Free Pride used its open letter to describe Pride Glasgow's party spaces as accommodating a "drinking-centric party", suggesting that drinking appears to be prioritised over the people welcomed to party:

> The party aspect does seem to be their main focus. We aren't saying you can't have the fun things, but it's about how space at the party is prioritised (Free Pride Organiser B, Interview, 2016).

Some scholarship argues that a focus on partying is a result of gay male power, where the men in charge of organising the space want the event to remain 'as it is', despite how it privileges homonormative identities (Browne and Bakshi, 2013). Ward similarly argues that the predominance of gay men on the board of the pride group she was studying in Los Angeles had "implications for the pride celebrations that had not gone unnoticed by queer feminists" who critiqued it for becoming a "gay men's disco" (Ward, 2008, p. 57). This suggests the impact of the demographics of an organising committee on events. Ward's research shows that part of the reason Pride in Los Angeles does not have political speakers at its event is because the male event organisers believe that people who attend Pride only want to come to party (Ward, 2008). Therefore, the partying at Pride becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy, where the imagination of people wanting a party results in the spaces they get only giving them a party. As Pride Glasgow initially formed from open public meetings, it can be argued that its focus on partying comes from the desire of Glasgow's LGBT community in the early 2000s. However, Free Pride's argument that some voices have been prioritised over others demonstrates how the desire for partying may not have been universal. The large number of people at Free Pride's open meetings who were against partying suggests a possibility that people might have been against it in the past but did not speak out. As such, voices of those in favour in the past might have been given more weight than those against.

Lastly, some geographers argue there is a relationship between the de-radicalisation of Pride events and their appropriation as tourist attractions (Johnston, 2005; Rushbrook, 2002). In Glasgow, it is hard to argue that this is the case. Although Glasgow City Council provides spaces and permits for the event, and may benefit from LGBT tourism to the event, Pride in Scotland is not part of any large-scale city promotion or tourism drive (Johnston, 2007). However, when I attended the 2016 event as part of my field work, I was given a questionnaire to complete with the help of a Pride Glasgow volunteer. The questionnaire included questions on how far I had travelled to come to the event, how much money I was spending, and how much money I was spending in places outside of the event. This suggests that Pride Glasgow are attempting to collect data to persuade Glasgow City Council that they are a marketable event for the city. This raises questions about how Pride Glasgow spaces might be policed or regulated as is the case at other Prides in other cities where the event has been co-opted by the city for tourism (Johnston, 2007, Markwell and Waitt, 2009).

4.3.2 Commodification

Free Pride claims that the loss of radical politics at Pride Glasgow's events is accompanied by an increased focus on accommodating companies and corporations in the spaces. Dropping radical politics in favour of adopting assimilationist approaches has helped the LGBT community win equality as a "minority wedded to the dominant mainstream values" (Highleyman, 2002: 108). This adherence to mainstream values of consumerism, domesticity, and monogamy constitutes homonormative LGBT identities (Duggan, 2002; Richardson, 2005). The increased commercialisation of Pride following neoliberal capitalist politics, has seen the commodification of Pride spaces and LGBT identities (Richardson, 2005; Chasin, 2000). This commodification arguably contributes to the sanitising, surveillance and regulation of public Pride spaces (Highleyman, 2002). Free Pride addresses this in its blog posts, arguing:

> Pride is our platform to demand and to fight for radical change in society and challenge the assimilation of the queer community into capitalist society (Free Pride, Blog Post A, 2015).

> Pride is for people, not for corporations to make themselves look LGBT friendly and make profit off us. Our frustration is aimed at the commercial forces at work in Pride and not the LGBTQIA+ who participate in what has become (Free Pride, Manifesto, 2015).

The first quote links the normative politics of Pride Glasgow to an assimilationist argument, where Pride Glasgow's focus on celebrating equality and progress works alongside a desire to achieve this by gaining inclusion into the existing dominant economic, political, and social structures of society. The second quote addresses the notion of pink-washing, which describes the way in which corporations market themselves to the LGBT community to divert attention from how they may be exploiting them (Ritchie, 2015). The next sub-section explores commercialisation and these connected notions of assimilation and pink-washing within the theme of commodification. The main argument is that neoliberal processes work to reconstitute Pride spaces as locations to be consumed for a price, and to constitute Pride participants in these spaces as consumers. Nevertheless, Browne and Bakshi (2013) argue there is no unified understanding of what makes a Pride event commercial, and commodified,

but point to entry costs, making money for businesses, and the involvement of business-focused people. Free Pride recognises these empirical factors in Pride Glasgow's spaces. Following Browne and Bakshi's suggestion (2013: 174), I argue that the 'commercial forces' at work in Glasgow Free Pride are reflected in the corporate presence, event sponsorship, and entry costs at Pride Glasgow (see also: Kates and Belk, 2001).

4.3.2.1 Corporate presence

In the open letter to Pride Glasgow, Free Pride argues: "we're tired of being patronised and marketed to by large companies" (Free Pride, Open Letter, 2015). This 'patronising marketing' is the description given to the corporate presence in the marketplace and community expo at Pride Glasgow's event. Pride Glasgow's marketplace is specifically set up for companies to sell products to the festival participants, and the community expo includes stalls from businesses looking to promote their brands, products, and services. This presence arguably equates sexual liberation with the ability to purchase goods and be acceptable consumers (Kates and Belk, 2001; Ward, 2008). It also overlooks how the corporations present may be exploiting or making life difficult for LGBT people in other circumstances, for example if the corporations also work in countries where homosexuality is illegal.

Figure 4.3: Corporate Presence at Pride Glasgow 2015. Photograph showing rainbow flags branded with corporate logos and slogans, in this case for the restaurant chain Nandos (A Thousand Flowers, 2015)

When corporations are provided specific spaces at the events, their branding and advertising become visual discursive objects that fill the space to such an extent that the images become the image of Pride most visible to attendees and onlookers (Ward, 2008; Enguix, 2009). From my participant observation notes, I would argue this to be the case at Pride Glasgow. Within certain spaces at the event in 2016, I observed banners and leaflets with corporate branding to have a greater visible presence than those without corporate branding. For example, peri-peri chicken chain Nandos was handing out rainbow flags branded with its company logo and the text "worth coming out for" (see figure 4.3), which many festival participants seemed to enjoy waving. Of course, the acceptance of these banners by participants might simply represent that LGBT people enjoy peri-peri chicken just as much as anyone else. However, it also represents a consent for the presence of corporate-branded products in Pride spaces that embeds homonormative discourses in the space by connecting 'coming out' with being a consumer. However, the image of Pride participants waving corporate branding is very different from Johnston and Waitt's generalised image that Pride in the 1970s and 1980s was

"a show of force with people holding placards and banners whose messages demanded equality, the decriminalisation of sodomy and the end to homophobia" (Johnston and Waitt, 2015). Therefore, banners such as those from Nandos at Pride Glasgow, signal a potential discursive shift embedded in the space such that contemporary Pride events are fashioned as festivals, not protests, with a predominant focus on entertainment (Johnston and Waitt, 2015: 108).

Moreover, consumption of products in the Marketplace is actively encouraged by Pride Glasgow. This encouragement echoes arguments that the construction of authentic LGBT identities has become "fused in queer consumerism", so that LGBT people "are encouraged to express their 'true selves' through clothing, food and drink, music…" (Holt and Griffin, 2003: 421). In the brochure for the 2015 and 2016 events, Pride Glasgow stress that it is "important" for everyone to support the stall holders in attendance, demonstrating a belief that the LGBT community can 'buy gay' and benefit from being active consumers. This follows arguments that consumerism opens up new opportunities for LGBT people to connect and form collective identities (Holt and Griffin, 2003). The LGBT movement has arguably always been strongly tied to market forces to gain acceptance of LGBT identities, where under liberal discourses of equality by inclusion, it helps to be a niche market to which commodities can be advertised and sold (Chasin, 2000; Ward, 2008).

Nevertheless, consumption in this niche market can be used as a form of resistance to the dominant culture, when commodities are appropriated by LGBT people for new contexts (Kates and Belk, 2001). For example, Pride Glasgow's community expo serves as a recruitment space for organisations and institutions such as the army to enlist LGBT people into its programs. While Free Pride argues that the army "doesn't work in our interest" and that it is "impossible to create an argument" that the army "is an overall good force for queer people" (Free Pride Organiser E, Interview, 2016), others argue that LGBT inclusion in the army is a queering of the military and a sign of progress for the military and LGBT people who become full citizens able to serve their country (Bulmer, 2013). By allowing corporations and institutions to become more visibly present, Pride Glasgow arguably does so at the expense of LGBT people who do not understand their liberation to be associated with inclusion into economic markets and institutions such as the army (Kates and Belk, 2001). Resistance to both a corporate and institutional presence is therefore a key factor in

understanding critiques that condemn contemporary Pride events including those made by Free Pride (Enguix, 2009).

4.3.2.2. Sponsorship

Corporate presence in Pride Glasgow's spaces is intensified given that corporations are encouraged to sponsor the event and the specific spaces within it. Pride events, worldwide, are increasingly reliant on sponsorship by mainstream corporations (Woods 1995; Richardson, 2005). Chasin (2000) argues that the commodification of Pride events has transformed those organising Pride events into professional organisations with paid positions for people employed to source corporate sponsorship. This is not necessarily true of Pride Glasgow, which is still a relatively small not-for-profit organisation with only three paid employees. However, Pride Glasgow can still be seen as being run by largely middle-class, professional and business orientated people who "can project themselves in ways that will attract funding" (Richardson, 2005: 526). Being attractive for funders has also resulted in the need for Pride participants to be seen as acceptable to the mainstream (Richardson, 2005). Normative ideas about what is acceptable for sponsors works to restrict performances in the space to those that are non-threatening to the mainstream, that is, homonormative identities (Burns, 2012; Waitt, 2003, 2006).

In attempting to persuade potential sponsors that its event is profitable and worth sponsoring, Pride Glasgow can be seen as commodifying the identities of its festival participants by selling them to the prospective sponsors (Ward, 2008). As discussed in Chapter 2, sponsors are interested only in a certain type of gay citizen that is marketable, and thus the inclusion of sponsorship often involves the cleaning up of Pride spaces to make the space desirable for sponsors (Binnie, 2004; Casey, 2009). On the "What Pride Glasgow can do for you" section of its website, Pride Glasgow attracts sponsors by claiming that sponsoring the event will provide them with "increased brand visibility and awareness through positive publicity", along with "expand(ing) your brand's reach by enhancing your company's image within the LGBTI market." (Pride Glasgow, Website A, 2017). This focus on 'positive publicity' and a good public 'image' mirrors the literature arguing that neoliberal discourses of equality and inclusion have been taken up by companies so that the public image of diversity works to render invisible oppressions that still exist (Ward, 2008).

Another critique of sponsorship focuses on who is chosen to sponsor the event (Browne and Bakshi, 2013). In 2014, Pride Glasgow's main sponsorship came from Barclays Bank. When Pride Glasgow announced Barclays' sponsorship of the event, they highlighted that Barclays was named as one of the best employers in the UK for LGBT people due to its high ranking on the Stonewall Workplace Equality Index[13]. They also highlighted that Barclays has an in-house LGBT network known as Barclays Spectrum which provides an inclusive space for its LGBT employees and acts as a symbol of Barclays support for the LGBT community (Pride Glasgow, Facebook E, 2014). Pride Glasgow's chair argued they were "thrilled to have Barclays on board as our headline sponsor" as they,

> have found previously that the LGBT community prefers to do business with LGBT friendly businesses. [Barclays] working with us, creates a positive message for Barclays. We hope this is the start of a long and fruitful relationship between our organisations (Pride Glasgow, Facebook E, 2014).

This narrative of working together echoes the literature suggesting that discourses of diversity and equality have been co-opted by corporations to gain social capital (Chasin, 2000; Ward, 2008), and are being used by Pride Glasgow to gain the benefits of this inclusion.

However, sponsorship from big banks can be seen as representative of the 'selling out' of Pride events given that such commercial processes signal an irreconcilable shift away from radical politics that give Pride events their purpose (Browne and Bakshi, 2013; Browne, 2007b). In the eyes of Free Pride, this selling out is how sponsorship puts the needs of the banks before the needs of LGBT people. These different needs are regarded as irreconcilable to Free Pride as its organisers argue that banks are not supportive of LGBT people and should not be sponsoring Pride:

> It's so ironic to see the banks marching. I have heard from so many trans people that they struggle just to get their name changed on bank cards. So, banks can't even do

[13] Stonewall Equality Limited is the largest LGBT rights lobbying group in the UK, and their workplace equality index is a "benchmarking tool for employers to measure their progress on lesbian, gay, bi and trans inclusion in the workplace", see http://www.stonewall.org.uk/get-involved/workplace/workplace-equality-index

> that much for trans people, but when they have a chance to show off their logo they go for it (Free Pride Organiser E, Interview, 2016).

Free Pride argues that sponsorship of Pride by banks is "just another way to do PR" (Free Pride Organiser A, Interview, 2016). However, Browne and Bakshi (2013) suggest that more consideration needs to be given to sponsors' intentions for sponsoring Pride events. Their arguments indicate that rather than there being two sets of irreconcilable needs held by corporations and LGBT people, that there may be a difference in understanding the needs of LGBT people. Barclays' high rank on the Workplace Equality Index suggests that they are meeting the needs of the LGBT people who developed the index and who aspire to work in the corporate sector.

Free Pride argues that regardless of a sponsor's intentions, the inclusion of certain sponsors will always unavoidably have links to discourses of pink-washing:

> Barclays are invested in some of the worst arms companies in the world. We don't want an organisation that is invested in the death of people around the world, by selling arms to Saudi Arabia to kill gay people, for example. We don't want our Pride to give them a little pink badge about how great they are if that's what they are invested in (Free Pride Organiser A, Interview, 2016).

For 2015 and 2016, Pride Glasgow's main sponsorship has come from the Polo Lounge and AXM, Glasgow's two LGBT nightclubs. In its sponsorship announcements, Pride Glasgow highlights how having and maintaining a good working relationship with Glasgow's LGBT nightclubs works to improve community cohesion and strengthen the community as a united whole (Pride Glasgow, Facebook D, 2015). However, although sponsorship from within the LGBT community avoids the same level of scrutiny as the banks and other types of sponsorship, this does not mean such corporate sponsorship is unproblematic. Free Pride maintains that while sponsorship from LGBT venues might be acceptable to support those venues and build the community in Glasgow, Pride Glasgow as an LGBT activist group should be doing more to hold all sponsors accountable for its short comings. When speaking about the LGBT nightclubs that sponsor Pride Glasgow, Free Pride (Free Pride Organiser C,

Interview, 2016) argues "there are so many problems with" Glasgow's LGBT clubbing scene, stating:

> There are power injustices and imbalances within the scene, women are marginalised in the scene, trans people are marginalised in the scene, disabled people are marginalised in the scene. They just aren't really spaces that are always inclusive and welcoming for everyone (Free Pride Organiser C, Interview, 2016).

Therefore, rather than holding its sponsors accountable for inequalities within the LGBT community, Pride Glasgow can be seen to be complicit in maintaining these inequalities by accepting sponsorship. In doing so, people within the community negatively affected by the sponsors are alienated from the event spaces (Enguix, 2009).

4.3.2.3 Entry Costs

After sponsorship, a final key factor in Free Pride's critique of Pride Glasgow as commodified space is the entry cost for attending the event. In 2014, Pride Glasgow introduced permanent entry costs to its event because of a financial shortfall in 2014. This shortfall occurred as Glasgow City Council had less funding opportunities for Pride Glasgow to apply for, as money Pride Glasgow would usually apply for was spent on the Commonwealth Games (Pride Glasgow, Facebook A, 2014). This mirrors the recognition that community-based and not-for-profit charities are left behind in neoliberal agendas that favour public- and private-sector partnerships (McLean, 2014). The struggle to compete for public grants against the Commonwealth Games arguably makes Pride Glasgow a victim of Glasgow City Council policies that favour the accommodation of an international sporting event over a local Pride event. The ticketing of the event means that the public spaces of Glasgow Green park, which is usually open to the public to freely use at their leisure is closed off to members of the public without a ticket. Metal fences run around the perimeter of the event space and the park can only be entered through entrances guarded by hired security who ask for tickets and search bags to exclude attendees from bringing their own food and drink into the space (see figure 4.4). Taking place in a closed off public place reduces the opportunity to disrupt heteronormativity by limiting the reach of Pride Glasgow's activism (Enguix, 2009). Limiting participation in the space to those who have purchased tickets,

reduces the opportunity to reach passers-by or support those people questioning their sexuality and gender who may not feel confident enough to purchase a ticket.

Figure 4.4: Fences and Security at Pride Glasgow. Photograph showing the fences that run along the perimeter of Pride Glasgow's event space to keep out those without a ticket, and the security guards checking tickets and bags at the entrance.

Putting a price on Pride and using the commodification of the space to fund the event also excludes those who cannot afford to buy in (Browne and Bakshi, 2013; Kates and Belk, 2001). Free Pride argue in its open letter that the entry cost "makes the event inaccessible and alienating to many groups" (Free Pride, Open Letter, 2015). This exclusion tends to work along class, racial, and disability lines (Puar, 2006). Prior to 2014, Pride Glasgow proudly advertised that its event remained free while other events in the UK were not. In the brochure for the 2013 event, Pride Glasgow wrote:

> Keeping [Pride] free is something that is very important to us. It would be easier for us to introduce a 10-pound ticket fee which would raise at least 50,000 pounds and ensure future events are even better, however by working to keep it free we can ensure that no one is excluded (Pride Glasgow, Brochure, 2013).

This statement shows Pride Glasgow connecting entry costs with exclusion, providing the basis for Free Pride's critique when Pride Glasgow backtracked on the statement the following year. The decision to backtrack and introduce entry costs is at odds with Free Pride's idea of a radical politics focusing on the needs of those most vulnerable within the

community. Entry costs work to prioritise LGBT people who have enough money to enter the space, which leads to exclusions based on class and unemployment.

Discussions over whether it is acceptable to charge entry costs to Pride events grapples with the question of what Pride actually is and if having a cost to enter is at odds with the radical politics of Pride. Free Pride argue that entry costs are "not in the spirit of Pride" (Free Pride, Open Letter, 2015). This spirit of Pride refers to how Pride is an important venue for LGBT identity formation, where the ability to proudly be oneself in public is liberating and affirming for LGBT individuals (Halperin, 2009). Pride has become something that LGBT people are almost entitled to attend, and something that they would be negatively affected by if they were not able to attend. In saying that you "shouldn't have to pay to show pride", Free Pride is recognising that ticketing Pride events does more than add a price to attending the event. Rather, it also puts a price on LGBT individuals' self-actualisation and their ability as part of the LGBT community to access a safe space to be themselves, meet others, and access resources.

4.3.3 Exclusion

Research on activist groups argues that neoliberal capitalist policies and commodification works to naturalise racialized, classed, gendered, and sexed exclusion (McLean, 2014). Public visibility and acceptance under neoliberalism is seen as "a trap for sexual dissidents" where accepted LGBT identities have had their representation compromised and other identities rendered unacceptable (Skeggs, 1999: 228). As I have argued, as Pride Glasgow's de-radicalised and commodified spaces work to constitute normative sexual and gender identities, this arguably enables subtle forms of oppression within the LGBT community to emerge, as discussed in chapter 2 (Duggan, 2002; Ward, 2008). This emerges when certain LGBT people come to feel out of place, and thus feel excluded from Pride Glasgow's spaces.

Figure 4.5: Pride Glasgow's 2016 Poster. This figure shows the five white, young bodies used to advertise Pride Glasgow in 2016 (Pride Glasgow, Poster, 2016)

As well as the financial barrier of the entry costs, Free Pride's critique also highlights discursive barriers to the event. Pride Glasgow's 2016 poster came under fire for not being inclusive or representative of the community. The image used in the poster, shown in Figure 4.3, was criticised for including only white, young people. The visual imagery produced by a group can "reveal what is hidden in the inner mechanisms of the ordinary and the taken for granted" (Rose, 2014: 7). The poster is an illustration of the race, class, and age inequalities reproduced through neoliberal regimes of regulatory power and discipline (Valentine, 2002; McLean, 2014). The inclusion of only white bodies in the poster suggests that 'whiteness' is taken for granted in Pride Glasgow's spaces. Pride Glasgow racializes its event in this poster by excluding representation of people of colour in its spaces. One of the Free Pride organisers I interviewed recognised the problematic implications this has for queer people of colour in Glasgow who would see the poster and then "don't want to go there because they aren't going to feel welcome" (Free Pride Organiser C, Interview, 2016). Further, they acknowledged that the lack of obvious trans and disability representation also creates feelings of exclusion:

> There is not a lot of recognition or room for trans people. So, I find those spaces very uncomfortable to be in. It's uncomfortable being in spaces where you know there are a lot of people who don't really think you should be there (Free Pride Organiser C, Interview, 2016).

The argument here is that people will stay away from Pride Glasgow's event to avoid feeling uncomfortable as the poster suggests the event "isn't really for them" (Free Pride Organiser C, Interview, 2016). Scholarship argues that this exclusion is deliberate and suggests that the presence of unwanted queer bodies at mainstream Pride events would be too much of a reminder of shame (Halperin and Traub, 2009). Halperin (2009) argues that the queer

identities left out of the advertising are the ones that mainstream Pride events have become too proud to acknowledge, as they represent certain dimensions of LGBT culture, history, and sexuality that are not deemed acceptable within an assimilationist agenda (Halperin, 2009). Pride Glasgow's advertising, with white, young, and happy individuals, does in part mirror academic critique that Pride events focus on 'non-threatening' identities and performances in order to forward politics of sameness with heterosexuals (Bell and Binnie, 2000; Johnston and Waitt, 2015). However, it would be hard to argue that this was a conscious effort from Pride Glasgow to hide LGBT identities that they are 'too proud to acknowledge'. The critique from Free Pride is not to expose whether there is a conscious effort to exclude queer people of colour, people with disabilities, but why there is not a conscious effort to include these LGBT identities.

Figure 4.6: Pride Glasgow's 2015 Poster. This figure shows the 'Be Happy' slogan used to promote Pride Glasgow's 2015 event (Pride Glasgow, Poster, 2015)

The previous year's poster (shown in Figure 4.6) was a graphic rendering of Glasgow's skyline with rainbow coloured paint splashing over the buildings. Above the skyline, Pride Glasgow's slogan "#BeHappy" was written across the clouds. The splashes of bright colourful paint are representative of the celebratory focus of Pride Glasgow's event. This time, it is the 'Be Happy' slogan that represents Pride Glasgow's exclusionary politics in the eyes of Free Pride. In its open letter to Pride Glasgow, Free Pride voiced its concern over how the slogan might "trivialise the experiences of those of us who are still facing discrimination, violence, homelessness, and poverty" (Free Pride, Open Letter, 2015. Free Pride wrote:

> Being given a chance to openly and proudly present ourselves does indeed make many of us happy; however, a huge part of the community is still treated with no respect and has difficulties even in the progressive country that the UK is viewed as. We cannot be happy when so many of us are

> being erased from the conversation about equality, and are continually discriminated against (Free Pride, Open Letter, 2015).

To Free Pride, Pride Glasgow's call to be happy was an insensitive demand, ignorant of the lived reality of some LGBT people. In response to Free Pride's concern, Pride Glasgow expressed upset with Free Pride's response: "although we still face huge discrimination and isolation as a community we should be able to celebrate positive changes where we can" (Pride Glasgow, Facebook C, 2015). This debate between Free Pride and Pride Glasgow speaks to discussions over how Pride should feel for participants. Browne argues that for some participants at Brighton Pride, the space is for them to enjoy who they are, with the message that they can 'be happy' in public space while remaining political (Browne, 2007b). However, in my interviews, one organiser of Free Pride argues that an emphasis on happiness "simplifies the way we should be feeling. Be Happy? We should also be angry!" (Free Pride Organiser D, Interview, 2016). It is this emotion of anger that remains contentious, as mainstream Pride organisers view the need for anger to have dissipated (Browne, 2007b). This works to exclude those who are still angry by not providing a space that allows for a range of emotion beyond happiness.

4.4 Counter Arguments to Free Pride's Critique

Taken together, the discursive sets surrounding radical politics, commodification, and exclusion discussed above build the sense that Free Pride was aiming to challenge what it viewed as a homonormative politic embedded in Pride Glasgow's spaces. This perceived homonormative politic makes Free Pride concerned that Pride Glasgow spaces privilege homonormative identities over others. Although Pride festivals create geographies of belonging by bringing LGBT people together, the commodification of Pride and the dilution of its radical political activism can also create geographies of 'not belonging' (Johnston and Waitt, 2015). This geography of not belonging and feeling out of place at Pride, results from how the dominant system of meaning in Pride Glasgow's spaces disciplines expectations of how the spaces will be used and by whom. These expectations mean that only certain identities and performances are constituted as normative and acceptable in these spaces, which has implications around the restricting the identities of those who aren't expected in the space. The homonormative expectations Free Pride perceives in Pride Glasgow are

contingent on the repetition of celebration, corporate presence, sponsorship, etc. By critiquing the spaces, Free Pride highlights the instability of homonormativity (Nash, 2006).

However, Free Pride activists are not the only people making this challenge, as there are also actions and performances within Pride Glasgow's spaces by participants of Pride Glasgow that also challenges homonormativity. While there is evidence to support Free Pride's claims and its perception of Pride Glasgow as homonormative, a queer reading of space as multiple and unfixed suggests it would be reductive to understand Pride Glasgow's spaces solely within this critique. As some discussion above shows, there are potential counter arguments and evidence that Pride Glasgow's spaces may be more complex and fragmented than Free Pride's critique suggests. The queer methodological approach of this thesis requires me to recognise how the contradictions and complexities surrounding homonormativity at Pride Glasgow limit the application of the concept to accurately describe Pride Glasgow. Warner (2004: 334) has previously argued that "rigid constructions" of concepts such as homonormativity "marginalise those ways of doing homosexuality and heterosexuality [that do] not fit the mould" of normativity. Here, I begin to pick apart the concept by highlighting ways that 'homonormative' Pride Glasgow supports identities beyond homonormativity.

During my participant observation at Pride Glasgow's 2016 event, I observed a wider range of identities than would be expected by notions of the white gay patriarchy associated with homonormativity (Nast, 2002). Noticeably, there were many people with visible disabilities at the event, and also groups of young people of colour. What was most noticeable was the diversity in the flags that people were carrying around. At Pride events, it is common for people to carry the rainbow flag, and there were certainly many rainbow flags being carried around Pride Glasgow. But strikingly there were also a large number of people waving the pansexual flag[14]. This suggests that while some might argue the events are more orientated towards gay men and lesbians, the event still attracts, and therefore must cater to, a wider range of sexual identities. Most of the people waving pansexual flags were young people, and it was noticeable that there were more children and younger teenagers at Pride Glasgow's event than at Free Pride's event. Free Pride in comparison seemed to be attended by mostly

[14] Pansexuality describes a person of any gender who is sexually and/or romantically attracted to other people of any gender, so that gender does not play a part in who they are attracted to. The theory of pansexuality has been argued to "assist us in comprehending the many sexual possibilities existing within us", and is therefore seen as an identity that recognises queer conceptualisations of being (see: Lapointe, 2007).

people in their later teens or early twenties. Free Pride organisers believe that the radical politics of the group might be off-putting to younger LGBT people (Free Pride Organiser B, Interview, 2016). The focus on celebration is thought to make events like Pride Glasgow's more accessible to younger LGBT people who feel more comfortable at less political events (Free Pride Organiser B, Interview, 2016). Browne and Bakshi (2013) argue that mainstream Pride events can also feel more supportive for those who have recently come out as being LGBT. Perhaps young people need the life-affirming and life-changing moments of attending the big mainstream Pride events before they can rebel against the groups who provide them.

Pride Glasgow also aimed to challenge criticisms of exclusive advertising by also promoting the events with photographs of members of Glasgow's LGBT community. In the weeks leading up to its event, Pride Glasgow volunteers were present in LGBT bars and nightclubs, inviting club-goers to take a selfie with the Pride Glasgow sign which would be used to promote the event on social media. In doing this, its marketing campaign became more inclusive of the diversity of LGBT people by including members of the public in the imagery. However, as this occurred mostly in commercial nightclub spaces, it could still be regarded as restricting expected LGBT identities in Pride Glasgow's space to those who understand their identity as constituted in Glasgow's LGBT nightclub scene, and those who can afford to go into those spaces. Also, as the official posters remained unchanged, the exclusionary implications of the posters were unlikely to have been reversed.

Moreover, Pride Glasgow's family area does improve inclusivity at the event by providing a space that caters to parents with young children who might otherwise not be able to go. This is particularly important due to critiques of queer spaces in general being alienating for families due to their acceptance of sexual, adult performances (Ward, 2008). Pride Glasgow has also in the past tried to create autonomous spaces specifically for certain groups of people. For the 2014 event, Pride Glasgow included for the first time a transgender safe space that provided facilities for trans people to discretely change into clothing that matched how they wanted to present their gender, as well as a social space to meet other trans people (Pride Glasgow, Brochure, 2014). However, despite trying to increase the inclusivity of the event space, Pride Glasgow's trans tent "was met with some criticism" from the trans community (Pride Glasgow, Facebook Post C, 2016). It was felt by some trans people that the space was not inclusive of all trans people, and some were unhappy with the lack of consultation of trans people in the making of the space (Pride Glasgow, Facebook Post C, 2015). However,

although the execution of creating the trans tent might have been misguided for some, it shows Pride Glasgow's willingness to engage with marginal people in the community.

Further, while there is a critique of sponsorship, sponsorship has previously been something that the LGBT community in Glasgow have themselves asked for and expected:

> Does the answer lie in getting major sponsorship? Well yes (unfortunately you may say) it does. These events do not run themselves and this perhaps is where Pride Scotia failed big time! If our own event is to flourish and gain credibility, then the organisers need to find sponsorship and start looking for it now. This would turn Pride Scotia into what it should be – one of the biggest and best gay and lesbian celebrations in the UK! It should be mentioned in the same breath as events held in Manchester and London and should dwarf ones such as that held in Cardiff (John Murphy, *Scotsgay*, Issue 72, 2006).

This quote suggests a desire to be competitive with other UK Pride events as a bigger driving force for decision making around Pride Glasgow's event than a desire to focus on inclusivity. However, it also shows how the events rely heavily on sponsorship to stay running. So, while sponsorship may alienate those against the commodification of Pride spaces, it also ensures there is a space on the day to accommodate others. In my interviews with Free Pride, we considered the complicated ways in which commodification might be aiding certain people's ability to access the space. The inclusion of corporate LGBT groups in the space opens up an avenue for people in service or corporate jobs to attend Pride, as they might not be able to get time off work to attend Pride without doing so via these groups in their place of work. This highlights the complexity of the relationship between differentiation and assimilation, as the commodification of Pride is linked to the livelihoods of participants via their work (Enguix, 2009).

Figure 4.7: Partying at Pride Glasgow 2015. Photograph showing partying in front of the main stage at Pride Glasgow 2015, as participants watch and dance along to the entertainment on stage comprising of different musical acts (Pride Glasgow, Facebook, 2015).

Moreover, there is a counter argument to Free Pride's critique that Pride Glasgow's focus on celebration and partying is alienating for those still fighting to be recognised as themselves without harassment in public spaces. Ward argues that a Pride event's emphasis on partying is actually a form of queer resistance to homonormativity due to how partying, with its sexual antics, can be positioned against the image of monogamy, domesticity, and professionalism associated with homonormativity (2008). This suggests that Pride Glasgow's main stage area might still be a queer space for defying the rules of respectable adult citizenship and the expectation that parties in public spaces are always heteronormative (Ward, 2008).

Browne's (2007) work on Brighton Pride suggests that disrupting heterosexual space and engaging in radical actions is not the motivation for the majority of those who attend Pride, where many participants seek out Pride for the partying and celebration. Browne also argues that having fun and being political are not mutually exclusive, and so we can understand mainstream Pride spaces to still constitute political LGBT identities (2007). To this end, Enguix (2009) argues that Pride events should not "choose between those who fight for same-sex marriage and those who claim their right to difference and marginality, as both must exist". Therefore, while Free Pride may see a need to provide space for a more radical version of Pride, it would be wrong to dismiss LGBT people who do not hold Free Pride's radical political beliefs. The space provided by Pride Glasgow may be just as necessary to some LGBT people as Free Pride is to others.

4.5 Summary of the Main Point(s)

In this chapter, I examined the festival spaces constituted by Pride Glasgow in 2015 and 2016, to answer my first research question and partly answer my third. My first research question aimed to pick out the various and contingent systems of meaning underpinning Free Pride's critique of Pride Glasgow. I answered this by examining Free Pride's critique within discourses surrounding radical politics that demonstrated how Free Pride understands Pride Glasgow's use of public space to be lacking the radical political purpose that a Pride event should have. Free Pride understood Pride Glasgow's spaces as not being radical, through how Pride Glasgow's space focusing on celebrating homonormative identities and progress already made as opposed to focussing on those still marginalised. Examining Free Pride's critique highlighted corporate presence, sponsorship, and entry costs as three key factors in understanding the commodification of Pride Glasgow. This section discussed how this commodification drove the lack of politics and the following section discussed how this resulted in sexual and gendered normativities constituted in the space that were exclusionary for certain LGBT people. Examining Free Pride's critique within discourses surrounding exclusion showed that LGBT people who still face oppression, and who have bodies and identities unwanted in commodified spaces, come to feel out of place when Pride Glasgow focusses on celebration.

My analysis worked to answer my third research question that aimed to understand the implications of the constitutions of Glasgow's Pride spaces in terms of expectations, norms, identities, and possibilities of being in the spaces established at the groups' events. I answered this question by examining how the normative discourses in Pride Glasgow's spaces potentially results in the constitution of the space as being exclusionary for individuals who understand their identity to be outside of these norms. However, I also paid attention to the ways in which Pride Glasgow attempts to be inclusive, and how its event spaces still supports certain identities, such as pansexuality, that might be considered non-normative. Therefore, Free Pride's critique is just one way to understand Pride Glasgow's complex and contested spaces. Overall, this chapter argues that through the interrelated themes of radical politics, commodification, and exclusion, Free Pride has built a critique of Pride Glasgow based on its perception that Pride Glasgow's spaces are homonormative.

Chapter 5
Free Pride's Alternative Spaces – An Analysis
5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I examine the event spaces constituted by Free Pride in 2015 and 2016 to analyse the dominant discourses visible in the constitution of Free Pride's alternative spaces as queer space. I again draw from a range of materials collected and analysed including interview transcripts with five organisers of Free Pride, participant observation notes, and documents released by Free Pride online to answer this thesis' research questions. I answer my second research question which is focussed on understanding how Free Pride sought to constitute its alternative public space differently from Pride Glasgow in light of its understanding of the constitution of queer spaces and related queer identities. I also finish answering my third research question, which is concerned with understanding the implications of the constitution of Glasgow's Pride spaces in terms of the norms and possibilities being established.

The aim of this chapter is not to compare or measure degrees of 'queerness' between Free Pride and Pride Glasgow's events, or claim that Free Pride's spaces are more successfully queer. Rather, this chapter examines how Free Pride worked to counter the limitations it sees in Pride Glasgow events in light of the three key themes of the thesis and the literature on queer space making. This chapter argues that Free Pride's attempt to challenge these perceived limitations and exclusions has created spaces that arguably make room for identities and spaces beyond those perceived as homonormative. I begin the chapter by describing Free Pride's spaces as they manifested in 2015 and 2016. I then analyse Free Pride's constitution of these spaces, highlighting the dominant sets of discourses surrounding radical politics, commodification, and exclusion, that underpin the space-making. Following this, I proceed to answer my third research question through an analysis assessing whether Free Pride's spaces can be considered queer space rather than homonormative.

5.2 Free Pride's Alternative Example

> In addition to providing the community an accessible, inclusive and enjoyable event, we hope to provide an example to Pride Glasgow of what a de-commercialised pride looks like. We want to campaign for the

> necessary changes to Pride Glasgow while providing an alternative that the community can enjoy now (Free Pride, Fundraiser Webpage, 2015).

Mainstream Pride events labelled as assimilationist and commodified have been the subject of a backlash from radically aligned LGBT activists over the last 20 years, including the USA, UK, and Europe (Brown, 2007; Enguix, 2009; Halperin, 2009). However, these activists are commonly understood and written off by mainstream Pride organisers as being 'just protesters' that only complain about their events and "do not work for equality day-by-day" (Enguix, 2009: 26). Far from just complaining about Pride Glasgow without working for equality, Free Pride's critique was twinned with the action of providing an alternative Pride space in the city. Free Pride's goal was to provide Pride Glasgow with a visual reference for how Free Pride thought Pride Glasgow's future events should use public space. The perceived homonormativity at Pride Glasgow must be continuously performed to be stabilised, and Free Pride aim to show how this homonormativity can be changed (Waitt and Stapel, 2011). By providing an alternative example that aims to be non-homonormative, Free Pride's spaces reveal that the processes of assimilation and commodification at Pride Glasgow are never fully complete (Butler, 1990). Therefore, Free Pride can be understood as taking advantage of the ever-present opportunity to disrupt the dominant normative performances at Pride (McLean, 2014; Butler 1990). Free Pride rejects the idea that Pride follows a pre-determined path, by opening up a new possibility for future Pride events (Waitt and Stapel, 2011). Free Pride also aims to provide an immediate solution for those they regarded as excluded from Pride Glasgow's event by providing an inclusive alternative for people to attend.

Free Pride's one day event took place on the Saturday of Pride Glasgow's festival in 2015 and 2016. As an indoor event, the venue in both years was the student's association building for the Glasgow School of Art university. Known as The Art School, the venue is a centre for music and visual arts and commonly holds art exhibits, club nights, and gigs. The location of the Art School places Free Pride within the city centre, adjacent to one of Glasgow's main shopping streets (see Map 1, in Chapter 1). Free Pride's activities take place across three floors of the venue, accessible by stairs and an elevator. Upon entering the building, there is a welcome desk staffed by Free Pride volunteers with information on what is happening at the event, and a bucket to collect donations. On the first floor, in a bar setting, there is a stage with live music and spoken word performances as people sit drinking and eating food from

the bar on tables and benches around the room. Also on the first floor, away from the bar, is a separate room that Free Pride uses as its quiet space. This area is for people to go to if they need time out from the event, and is filled with comfortable seating, books, and stim toys for

Figure 5.1: Free Pride's Spaces 2015. The top left photo shows a sign designating the quiet area. The top right photo shows a talk taking place. The middle left photo shows banners being made for the space. The middle right photo shows a social area at Free Pride with arts and crafts. The bottom two photos show performances taking place on the stage at Free Pride by LGBT performers

those with autism.

The second floor is the main room where most of the day's activities take place. One third of the room nearest the entrance is given to arts and craft tables and a table to have a 'queer tarot reading'. The middle of the room has about 10 stalls with invited groups focused on LGBT issues. For example, there are stalls for the Sex Workers Open University, and stalls for groups focussing on LGBT children in care, and sexual harassment. At the other end of the room there is a small area with a microphone surrounded by chairs, where some of the day's talks take place. Upstairs on the third floor, there are two more rooms used for talks and workshops during the daytime event. Some workshops and talks are skills based, for example 'how to' workshops on zine making and video blogging to encourage the creation of LGBT media, and others are education- and discussion-based, for example talks on asexuality, biphobia, and sex worker's rights, to build awareness and knowledge on the issues (see Appendix 2). For the night time event, the bar on the first floor stays open with a DJ and more performances. The main hall on the second floor also turns into a night club space with a DJ booth set up on a stage at the back of the room, and a bar that opens at the front of the room. The quiet room downstairs remains open for those who need it, and films are shown on a projector in one of the rooms on the third floor. In the next section, I explore how these spaces were constituted in light of Free Pride's critique of Pride Glasgow and its own systems of meaning surrounding LGBT identities.

5.3 Understanding Free Pride's Alternative Spaces

5.3.1 Radical Politics

In Chapter 2, I discussed the scholarship debating the radical politics of historic, contemporary, and alternative Pride events. Debates over the relationship between partying and being political suggest that contemporary Pride events are still political even if not in a 'radical way' (Browne, 2007b; Browne and Bakshi, 2013). Despite this, alternative events tend to view radicalness as an obligatory part of Pride politics. Judith Butler once famously turned down an award from Berlin's Christopher Street Day Pride event, arguing that the event had become complicit with racism and that the organisers needed to understand antiracist politics as an essential part of Pride events (Silverstone, 2012). In her refusal speech, Butler also praised groups working to provide alternatives to the main Pride events

for fighting against homophobia, transphobia, sexism, and racism, (Silverstone, 2012). In the previous chapter, I explored how Free Pride defines radical politics as fighting against such oppressions by prioritising those still marginalised within the community. Free Pride also understands a radical politics as focussing on challenging the norms of society as opposed to celebrating victories already achieved. In this section, I explore Free Pride's arguments over what it means to be radical, and examine how Free Pride spaces are constituted in light of this understanding of radical politics.

Free Pride's logo (shown in Figure 5.2) is one example of a symbol through which Free Pride's discourses are constituted. The logo is a rainbow coloured version of the pink triangle, a queer activist symbol used by radical activists in the past, such as ACT UP[15]. The pink triangle was the symbol used to designate homosexual men in Nazi concentration camps (Crimp, 1990). As such there are critiques of its use as a symbol for the queer movement. Some argue it is an imprecise reference to the tragic legacy of the Holocaust, that irresponsibly decontextualizes and erases the history of the symbol (Saalfield and Navarro, 1991). Moreover, as a symbol for the queer movement it also misrepresents queer people of colour and women (Saalfield and Navarro, 1991).

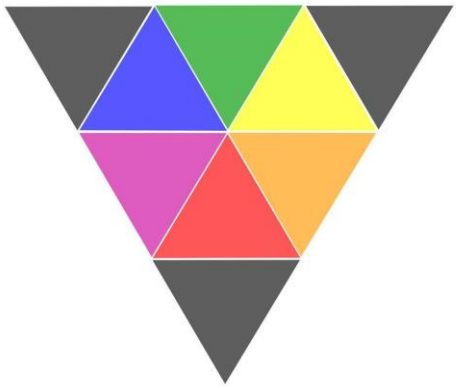


Figure 5.2: Free Pride's Logo. This figure shows the rainbow coloured triangle logo used by Free Pride in 2015 and 2016 (Free Pride, Logo, 2016)

Although the symbol is not without its critique and should not be used uncritically, Free Pride intended to highlight a connection between themselves and the historical radical groups that have used the symbol in the past (Free Pride, Interview, 2015). When the Pink Triangle is used by activists, it is understood to connect queer activism with queer survival (Gamson, 1989). Free Pride place this logo on objects throughout its space, with it being found in posters on the wall, printed on the front of the volunteers' t-shirts, and painted on various banners decorating the space. Using this symbol is one of the ways that Free Pride highlights the continued oppression non-normative LGBT identities face: "We are continually reminded

[15] AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT UP) was a direct-action activist group, founded in 1987, that aimed to better the lives of people living with AIDS. See (Crimp, 1990) for a discussion of the symbols they used.

that society isn't for us and that needs to change. Pride should be a platform to demand and make that change" (Free Pride, Manifesto, 2015).

In setting up an example event space for Pride Glasgow to follow in future, Free Pride is not simply engaging in negative dialectic, but is constituting a political signifier of its desire alongside its critique. When Free Pride attempts to create the spaces it desires, it temporarily embeds its alternative discourses in its public spaces. This turns its critique of Pride Glasgow into something tangible and visible that challenges the LGBT movements' assimilation into the mainstream (Shepard, 2010). This challenge comes from the understanding that resistance through public visibility can be a starting point for social change. Free Pride's event not only makes visible those queer people who attend the event, but it also gives increased visibility to the individual speakers, spoken word artists, musicians, and artists that perform at the event. The education, discussion, and performance in Free Pride's talks, workshops, and entertainment are used as methods to resist invisibility by providing space for marginalised LGBT people to speak and be heard. These practices are discourses that form statements of existence and coping mechanisms for those whose identity becomes validated in the space (Shepard, 2010). Free Pride argues that its "ultimate goal is to provide a space for everyone in the LGBTQIA+ community to come and feel comfortable, to celebrate and to protest, regardless of how much money is in their pocket" (Free Pride, Open Letter, 2015). In doing so, they position Free Pride's notion of radical activism as not only inclusive, but explicitly anti-commodification (Free Pride, Open Letter, 2015).

Moreover, the radical politics of Free Pride works as an emancipatory politicisation concerned with refiguring the meaning of what freedom means for LGBT liberation (Vaid, 1996). In a blog post, Free Pride expand on the meaning behind the Free Pride name, to demonstrate the group's understanding of a radical politics that struggles for emancipation:

> Our event is called Free Pride and 'free' can mean many things. The name Free Pride references all of the following meanings: Not under the control or in the power of another; Not constrained, restricted or bound; The act of removing obstruction or barriers; Given or made available without charge (Free Pride, Blog Post A, 2015).

Free Pride tries to constitute its spaces as unconstrained, unrestricted, and unbound through the lack of financial barriers that allows the space to be open for anyone to enter and participate. Other than at the night time event where the venue is required by licensing laws to have security guards on the door, nobody at the day time event is stopped to prove that they are allowed in the space or have their property checked. Once inside the venue, Free Pride's un-constrained and un-restricted space is evidenced in how they "encourage everyone to wear what they want and express their gender however they please" with "no policing of people's gender identity" or expression (Free Pride, Blog Post B, 2015). However, advocates of Pride Glasgow's spaces would also argue that the same is true inside Pride Glasgow's spaces, which complicates the idea that Free Pride's space are supportive of non-normative identities which Pride Glasgow's spaces restrict. Therefore, instead of exploring which identities are actually supported or not, it is more useful to consider how and why Free Pride aims to more openly support specifically non-normative identities.

The decision to manifest a radical politics through creating an inclusive and open space focused on self-actualisation and community building, was in Free Pride's early days at odds with a more confrontational strategy. My interviews with Free Pride organisers highlighted internal group tensions over how confrontational the group's radical politics should be:

> There were a lot of tensions around how radical we should be. There were people who wanted to be really radical, and be throwing paint on the police at the march. But then there were people who felt it should really be a family friendly, community event. It was about trying to find that balance between those two ends, to be inclusive but still make a political radical point (Free Pride Organiser A, Interview, 2016).

This quote shows how some activists had conflated the notion of a radical politics with confrontational tactics, so that at their extreme, radical politics would be unapologetically aggressive in nature. However, Free Pride ultimately made the decision that confrontational tactics, such as throwing pink paint over workers from 'pink-washing' institutions, were not necessary to advocate radical politics. The decision made for 2015 and 2016 was to be non-confrontational, and those in the original group who felt a non-confrontational approach was not radical enough dropped out (Free Pride Organiser A, Interview, 2016).

This follows Shepard's (2010) argument that the Gay Liberation movement can at times be better understood as organised around play and connection, as opposed to confrontation and aggression. Shepard argues that Gay Liberation is about making a community of active agents, where activism is not equated with confrontation (Shepard, 2010). However, Shepard goes on to argue that all activism which is supportive of liberation is also inherently opposed to oppression (Shepard, 2010). Free Pride contests this, and contends that although the partying spaces of Pride Glasgow may support liberation, this does not mutually constitute a resistance to oppression. Free Pride argues that in constituting party spaces at Pride events, it is important to be critical of who is welcome to that party and who may feel excluded from it (Free Pride Organiser C, Interview, 2016). Without doing this, supporting liberation does not mutually reinforce an opposition to oppression as it does not challenge normativities and oppressions within the liberation movement. Being critical of who is welcome at the party is what Free Pride aims to do when constituting its own party spaces. Whereas Pride Glasgow have straight performers, Free Pride argue: "Our partying is political because we give a platform to exclusively LGBT artists and local people. To give a platform to creative LGBTQ people in the city, that is a political act. We're not spending loads of money on getting in a random boyband" (Free Pride Organiser A, Interview, 2016).

Holding a party is usually seen as being at odds with having a radical politics. Gay Shame activists, who organised alternative Pride events in North America in the 1990s, avoided having party spaces at its events (Moon, 2009). However, Gay Shame came to realise that separating the politics completely from the partying resulted in participants becoming uninterested and ignoring its radical intentions (Halperin and Traub, 2009). Without partying spaces for people to socialise in, the politicised spaces of Gay Shame's events had its radical politics diluted when people came to socialise instead (Halperin and Traub, 2009). Free Pride understands that getting rid of the partying aspect of Pride would not work and is not desired. The organisers feel it is important to have these partying spaces for people to "have fun and express themselves freely in a safe space" (Free Pride Organiser D, Interview, 2016). Brown (2007) discusses how queer parties can be transformative for participants' sense of self, sexual confidence, and understanding of permissible behaviour in public. Although mainstream Pride spaces will be transformative for some LGBT people, this is restricted through how these spaces are governed by normative expectations. Parties in the alternative Pride spaces therefore are intended to allow for identities to be performed, explored, and developed in less restricted ways than would be experienced in mainstream Pride spaces.

Free Pride's party spaces are constituted so as to avoid the critique of mainstream Pride party spaces. Free Pride's partying space is prioritised for LGBT performers, given there is no entry cost, and a safer spaces policy is visibly enforced. In doing this, the play and connection in Free Pride's party spaces takes seriously the relationship between opposing oppression and supporting liberation (Shepard, 2010). As such, I would argue that Free Pride's event might be a better example of the interplay between the 'serious' political spatialities of Pride and the 'fun' of queer transgressions, that Browne (2007) linked to mainstream Pride events – or at least, in putting these practises in place Free Pride are making a more conscious effort to intentionally create spaces that are both political and fun. The partying at Free Pride shows how the Free Pride activists have interrogated the normative discourses that have become embedded in Pride Glasgow's parties and have deployed its own version of a party that aims to defy this normativity (Ward, 2008).

5.3.2 Commodification

As discussed in Chapter 2, different LGBT people can come to understand themselves differently within oppositional systems of meanings around commodification (Kates and Belk, 2001). Kates and Belk (2001) argue that social reflexivity plays an important role in consumption, so that some understand consumption to be resistance and others understand it to be oppressive. To those who understand it as oppressive, market forces are seen to threaten their sense of self (Kates and Belk, 2001). Pride events as a vehicle for economic power therefore threatens Pride events as a vehicle for the self-actualisation of those who understand themselves outside the norms of consumerism. To keep Pride as a vehicle for self-actualisation in the face of economic processes, Free Pride aims to hold an event without the factors of commodification explored in chapter 4, that is, corporate presence, sponsorship, and entry costs. Chapter 4 examined how Free Pride argues that these factors are not needed in Pride spaces and goes against what the purpose of the space should be. Free Pride seeks to highlight the absurdity of paying for Pride by proving to Glasgow's LGBT people that a successful Pride event can still be held without resorting to charging for entry to cover costs. One of Free Pride's committee members expressed to me their belief that Free Pride "has shown that holding an event without corporate funding and charging people is possible (Free Pride Organiser D, Interview, 2016).

From Chapter 4, Pride Glasgow's commodification of its event can be understood in part to be motivated by the need to fund the event so it can take place. However, Free Pride argue that, if Free Pride was in Pride Glasgow's situation:

> We would just have to scale back our event, and find ways to make the event cheaper. Do whatever we could within our means to run the event on the money we had without charging. And if that meant holding a smaller event or having less things then that would be fine as we still wouldn't be charging people (Free Pride Organiser A, Interview, 2016).

This statement positions Free Pride's viewpoint as different from those in Glasgow who see the importance of maintaining grand-scale events. Alternatively, Free Pride, rather than depend on corporate sales, sponsorship, and entry fees, funds its activities by relying almost entirely on donations collected through online fundraisers and fundraising events. Within this fundraising, the focus on donations as opposed to entry costs reflects the community focussed and inclusive discourses of the group. The donation buckets that Free Pride places at the door of the events are a visual symbol of these discourses, and are an example of how they are embedded in the spaces of the group.

It can be argued that spaces looking for donations are still commodified or commercial through how they expect some transaction of money to take place in the space. The expectation of making a donation can also work to put pressure on people to donate, especially if they feel they have to donate in order to be accepted as an activist or part of the community (Buraschi and Cornelli, 2007). Free Pride's fundraising activities are advertised as being "pay what you can". Methods similar to this have been critiqued for creating pressure through raising awareness of the social responsibility norm of paying (Meineri et al., 2016). However, Free Pride makes every effort to avoid making people feel guilty for not adhering to the norm of donating. At the events, nobody is turned away for not donating, and volunteers do not push for donations to be made.

I do not argue this reliance on donations is at odds with the aim of being a space free from commodification. I argue that it is part of the unfortunately unavoidable contradictory reality of organising a public event at this scale in a capitalist society. Gavin Brown's (2007a, 2007b) work on the Queereruption activists showed how those activists created "a practical

example" of Pride alternatives that "a small group of people can achieve for next to no expense". However, this lack of expense was due to the Queereruption event taking place in a squatted former funeral parlour (Brown, 2007a). The scale of Free Pride's event, and its desire to be family friendly and accessible, limits its venue options and restricts them from the using a precarious space such as that used by Queereruption. Due to the needs of the event, Free Pride have no choice but to hold it in a commercial space.

The contradictory way in which alternative queer groups participate in the systems they critique could constitute a model of 'queer consumption' (Silverstone, 2012). By refusing to impose costs on Pride participants and instead relying on donations, Free Pride avoids being critiqued as commodified and exclusionary given no one is denied entry based on financial requirements. Instead Free Pride offers an example of the "fantasy of a queer economy that is outside the grip of mainstream (gay) consumer culture" (Silverstone, 2012: 75). This fantasy comes from removing the economic pressure on Pride participants and by sharing the pressure between those with the means to support others. Through the online fundraiser, Free Pride have received donations from around the world, including the USA and Australia: "I guess there is just simply people out there that want to see this kind of event succeed because they agree with our politics and what we are doing" (Free Pride Organiser E, Interview, 2016). The sharing of cost globally further highlights the potential for a fantasy queer economy (Silverstone, 2012).

Although Free Pride is against the commodification of Pride spaces and participants, this does not equate to a rejection of all commercial presence at such events. At the 2015 event, Free Pride provided a reading area that included some zines that people were encouraged to read. The author of the zines was in attendance and asked Free Pride in advance if she would also be allowed to sell her zines on the day. After some debate, Free Pride allowed the selling of the zines as long as they were also available for free to read. Although Free Pride does not support big businesses coming into Pride spaces and making profit from LGBT people, they recognised the benefit of providing space for LGBT artists and authors to earn money to help them make a living. The support of community-focussed enterprises and their visibility in Free Pride's spaces constitutes the spaces within discourses that signal a rejection of the commodification of mainstream events. Supporting the livelihood of local LGBT people is important to Free Pride's radical politics, where the discrimination of LGBT individuals can make it harder for them to find paid jobs and cut them off from family support (Chatterjee,

2014). Free Pride argued that as a group they have been willing to work with smaller businesses like local coffee shops to hold events, as well as with the Art School to host the main event. They claim that renting space from a business to hold an event is not exploitative of LGBT people, when compared with how Pride Glasgow spaces allow large corporations to be marketed to LGBT people in a way that Free Pride regard as exploitative.

Overall, this sub-section on commodification has examined how Free Pride has deployed multiple discursive formations in its spaces to constitute the spaces as alternative to the homonormative mainstream, by being as free as possible from the commodification seen to constitute Pride Glasgow's spaces. In doing so, Free Pride aim to make its event space inclusive of those who understand their LGBT identity to be in conflict with positive discourses of consumerism. In the following sub-section, I develop this by examining what Free Pride understands as inclusive and how they work to make its space supportive of identities often excluded by commodification and the lack of radical politics at Pride Glasgow's events.

5.3.3 Exclusion

The constitution of Free Pride's space to challenge the perceived homonormativity of Pride Glasgow follows an understanding that Pride spaces are queer public commons which should be supportive of difference (Sheppard, 2010). Chapter 4 argues that that Pride Glasgow's spaces are supportive of a wider range of identities than would be expected within a critique of homonormativity. However, as Free Pride perceives Pride Glasgow to be homonormative, there are certain other LGBT people that Free Pride expects to be excluded from Pride Glasgow's spaces. The purpose of this section is not to assess how much Pride Glasgow's spaces actually exclude any particular kind of LGBT person, but rather to examine the actions of Free Pride that aimed to consciously support a range of identities arguably rejected by or excluded by the homonormative mainstream. Free Pride's main goal is to build "an alternative pride which is accessible to all" (Free Pride, Manifesto, 2015). This accessibility comes from uncovering and responding to the multiple exclusions entrenched in public spaces constituted by neoliberal practices that work to exclude others along lines of sexuality, gender, class, and ability (McLean, 2014). As such, Free Pride is:

> about providing a space. For people of all gender identities and sexual orientations who are marginalised by society and the queer scene, and who experience homophobia and transphobia etc. (Free Pride Organiser B, Interview, 2016).

The focus on inclusion and accessibility leads to Free Pride having a strategic advocacy of identity politics. Free Pride seeks to reaffirm the boundaries between different sexualities and genders as a temporary strategy to allow visibility and inclusion of those who understand themselves within marginalised identity categories. Free Pride's strategy might seem to be in opposition to the queer theoretical framework of this thesis that argues there is a fluidity to identity. However, arguments in the literature that this fluid understanding of queer is "a dangerous and premature phenomenon for groups that have yet to gain equality", goes some way to reconcile Free Pride's actions with my theoretical framework (Browne, 2009: 43). Although Free Pride wishes to challenge normative identities and allow for a queer understanding of identities, giving up identity categories completely would undermine the basis of its argument to be inclusive of identities not supported in Pride Glasgow's spaces.

Free Pride's strategic advocacy of identity politics sets Free Pride apart from some other alternative Pride groups that seek to blur boundaries between sexual and gender identities. An alternative pride group set up in Vancouver, Canada, in 2016, can be seen as being 'post-gay' in that they argue "Pride isn't simply for lesbians, or gay people, or another particular group. Aren't we past that? It's 2016. Pride is for everybody" (Vancouver Alternative Pride 2017). The viewpoint of this group seems more in line with queer theory's challenge to the notion that identity is the most radical and reliable source of personal or group knowledge and liberation (Butler, 1990). This formulation is very different to Free Pride's claim in its manifesto that "Pride belongs to LGBTQIA+ people and we want it back." It is a claim which seeks to reassert a boundary between LGBT identities and non-LGBT identities, in order to make sure its space prioritises and supports specifically the LGBT people who attend and create the event. Other queer space-making groups in the past have "sought to extend a definition of queer as fluid and limitless, but at the same time, something that could serve as a radical identification for a group of sexual minorities that did not fit within existing categories" (Rouhani, 2012). Free Pride's maintaining of existing identity categories comes from a reflection of what the group can accomplish through claiming and owning marginalized identity categories (Ward, 2008). Keeping identity categories maintains the legitimacy of why Free Pride's participants felt excluded from Pride Glasgow in the first

place. By keeping them instead of discarding them, Free Pride can expand what it means to identify with various identities beyond the homonormative understandings of the identities.

The use of LGBTQIA+, the extension of the LGBT acronym that Free Pride uses to describe the community, highlights its aim to include a wider range of possible LGBT identities in its spaces. The inclusion of Queer as an identity category within Free Pride's chosen acronym again conflicts with a queer theoretical framework that rejects queer as a fixed identity label (Landstrom, 2007). It is argued that queer cannot "confront the logic of heterosexuality by being another kind of identity" as it needs to allow "any individual" to "occupy or perform any sexual or gender identity" (Kennedy, 1994: 140). However, Free Pride recognises that certain LGBT sexual and gender identities are more oppressed and less represented within wider public spaces and other LGBT spaces, particularly homonormative spaces, and therefore have a greater need for Free Pride's inclusive space.

Queer scholars might argue in response that allowing new subjects to emerge within a fluid queer framework does not render irrelevant various political identity categories of the past (Landstrom, 2007). However, Free Pride's understanding appears to be that bypassing the creation of space for minority identities and moving straight to creating queer space with fluid identities would be a privileged move that would further render invisible the interests of the minority identities. For Free Pride, it is important that its spaces are focused on prioritising "the voices of the most marginalised" to achieve its goals of creating a radical space (Free Pride, Manifesto, 2015). Free Pride argues:

> Focussing on marginalised identities is radical. Being accessible is radical – it shouldn't be – but to be free and open to anyone is radical now. Protesting the stuff that has become accepted as the norm, that's radical (Free Pride Organiser B, Interview, 2016).

In focusing on those most marginalised, Free Pride are seeking to rectify the reality that "not all gays are being equally represented" by mainstream Pride events (Kates and Belk, 2001).

One way they aim to achieve this challenge to the exclusive norms at Pride Glasgow is through its advertising material. Free Pride's posters display a wider range of queer embodiments than Pride Glasgow's poster discussed in Chapter 4. Posters not only advertise

events, but show what type of event was being organised and whose inclusion is being taken for granted (Rose, 2014). Free Pride is not just interested in the visual display of diversity, but also in the categories of difference that are not always visible on the body such as class and mental disability (Ward, 2008). The 2015 poster for Free Pride (shown in Figure 5.2) was a cartoon image showing a group of people gathered in public space. From left to right the group of people included: two feminine presenting people of colour standing talking to each other, one with a thinner build and one with a larger body shape than the other; two masculine presenting older people with a young feminine-presenting child on one of their shoulders, suggesting a family of same-sex parents and their child; a feminine presenting person in a wheelchair; and a young person using sign language suggesting that they are deaf. The 2016 poster for Free Pride (shown in Figure 5.3) followed a similar theme. This time it was a cartoon of five people, again including what appears to be a young child on a parent's shoulders, a person of colour in a wheelchair, and people of varying body types holding up banners and rollerblading.

Figure 5.3 (above) and 5.4 (left): Free Pride's 2015 and 2016 Posters. These figures show the diverse range of bodies on show in Free Pride's advertising in 2015, 5.2 (Free Pride, Poster, 2015), and in Free Pride's advertising in 2016, 5.3 (Free Pride, Poster, 2016).

By showing this range of bodies in the poster, Free Pride is striving to increase the diversity of people who attend its events. First, it is hoped people looking at the poster will understand it as an indication that its event is intended to be inclusive. Free Pride wants people who are marginalised within the LGBT community to see themselves in the posters, and know they are welcome at the event and that the event will cater to their accessibility needs. Second, they want people to understand that Free Pride's politics are inclusive. Posters produced for LGBT events can often be sexualised and only show certain types of white, toned bodies (Burns, 2012; Waitt, 2003, 2006). By putting marginal and often invisible bodies on its posters, Free Pride offer affirmation to those who don't see themselves in the hypersexual imagery often associated with Pride events. Free Pride's poster does not just show that its event is suitable for all people, but it is also the group's way of communicating that these people are valid and important LGBT people who deserve equal visibility within the community (Free Pride Organiser E, Interview, 2016).

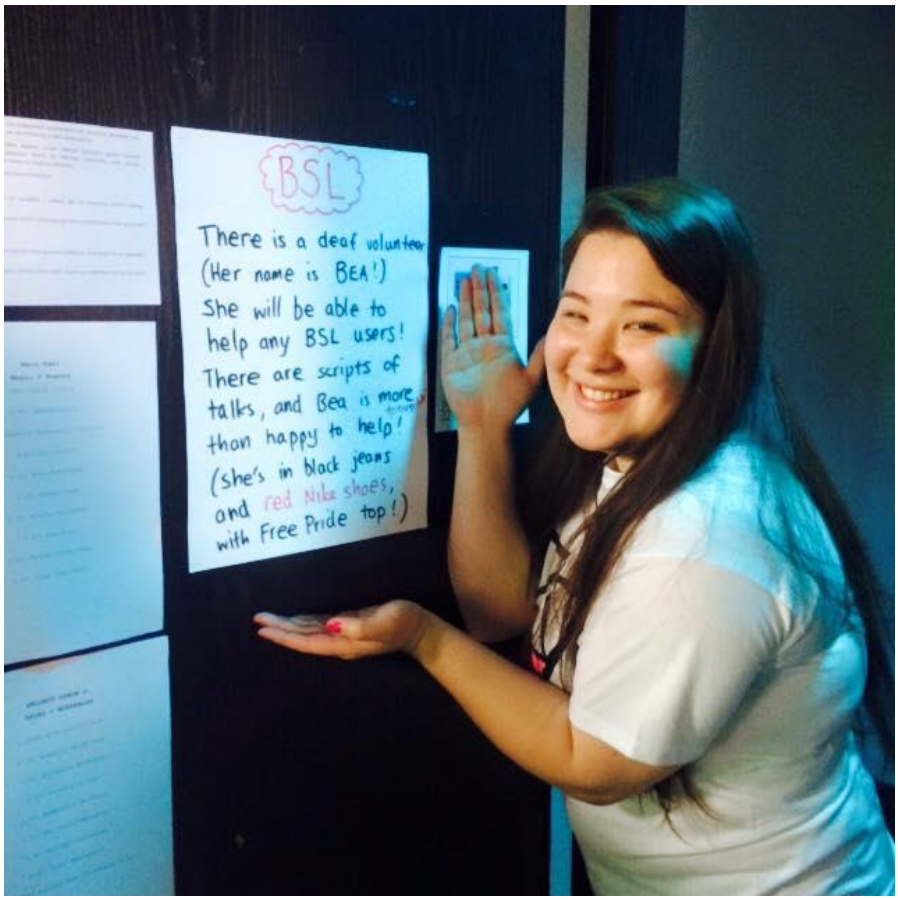


Figure 5.5: Free Pride's visual signposts for deaf attendees. This figure shows a Free Pride volunteer drawing attention to a sign posted to inform deaf attendees of accessibility help they might require, as a visual example in the space of the group's inclusive discourses.

Not only is it hoped that the posters will have an impact on LGBT people who view it in other locations before the event, but the visuals of the poser also reflect the inclusive discourses embedded in Free Pride's event spaces that become one of the ways in which the spaces differ from those of Pride Glasgow. At the events, the posters were put on the walls near the entrance, and

could be found in various spots inside the venue. This allowed people to look at the poster before and upon entering, so they would become conscious of the type of space they were entering. These visual materials in the actual event spaces thus were important signals for attendees that their identities were supported in the space. Figure 5.5 shows another example of how Free Pride's inclusive discourses were embedded in the spaces, through how the group used visual signposts to inform attendees of accessibility services available to them. In this example, the visual material highlights how Free Pride unpacked one of the exclusions entrenched by homonormativity, that of deaf individuals, and took steps to accommodate the disability.

Moreover, as well as striving to increase the diversity of people who attend the events through its physical visual material, Free Pride also recognises the need for inclusivity in the organising of the event space. Similar to Queeruption organisers who recognised the importance of having consistency between political goals and the ways in which they tried to achieve them, Free Pride recognised that to constitute space that supports non-normative identities, it has to be created by a range of individuals with non-normative identities (Heckert, 2004; Brown, 2007). To ensure its space is supportive of marginalised LGBT identities, Free Pride set up a caucus system in its organising group to allow people marginalised within specific identity categories to have the final say on the decisions that affect them. The caucuses include groups for those who identify as working class, people of colour, asexual and/or aromantic, trans and non-binary, bisexual and pansexual, disabled people and people with disabilities, and lastly a caucus for those who identify as women. The aim is to put oppressed groups' opinions at the forefront of Free Pride's organising and prioritise their needs, so that, for example, trans people can have the final say on trans issue without non-trans people making the decision for them. The caucus structure is influenced by discourses of intersectionality that reject additive conceptualisations of identity in favour of recognising how multiple identities define and are defined by one another (Ward, 2008). However, the rigidity of creating caucuses around one identity category seems to be at odds with an intersectional and fluid understanding of identities. To get around this rigidity, Free Pride made sure people knew to join as many caucuses as they identify with, and within the caucus only let those affected by the issue be involved in the discussion (Free Pride Organiser C, Interview, 2016).

Lastly, to further help constitute its event spaces as inclusive and welcoming, Free Pride set up a safer spaces policy that prohibits discrimination and harassment in their spaces, to encourage people to feel comfortable and to be themselves in Free Pride spaces (see appendix 3). The need to create safe spaces that offer an escape from the dangers of harassment and attack that LGBT people face in public spaces has always been one imperative of the production of queer spaces within cities (Bell and Binnie, 2004). Not only do Pride events seek to disrupt the heteronormativity of public space, they also seek to temporarily provide a safe public space for LGBT people to be themselves away from the violence they face in public (Fox, 2007). Pride spaces are seen as safe spaces through how they provide security to protect Pride participants from those in opposition to the event and their existence in public spaces (Johnson, 2012).

However, multiple exclusions can still operate within spaces intended to be open and inclusive spaces (Nash and Bain, 2007). Free Pride's safer space policy is part of its strategy to challenge the normativities and oppressions within LGBT spaces that would result in these multiple exclusions. The safer spaces policy details what kinds of behaviour are unacceptable in the event spaces and is designed to tackle transphobia, racism, sexism, homophobia, biphobia, and any other discrimination that may occur in queer spaces. In naming oppressions beyond just homophobia, Free Pride acknowledges that sexuality is intersectional (Eng et al., 2005). This acknowledgment challenges the colour blindness in LGBT discourses that arguably homogenised sexual identity categories to be white and all the same, by recognising oppressions are experienced differently along lines of race, gender, and sexuality (Perez, 1998; Fox, 2007). In implementing a safer spaces policy, Free Pride aims to increase their inclusivity by making sure people know they will be taken seriously if they have any complaints at the events. Free Pride's idea of a safer space is one that is visual in practice, with printed copies of their safer spaces policy put up on the walls near the entrances to their event to make it is safe (Fox, 2007). The safer space policy is therefore not just an abstract idea but something that can be read and seen upon entering the space. Safer space policies only work when those implementing them are reflexive about their own identities and how they are positioned in relation to power and privilege (Fox, 2007). Free Pride implemented the safer spaces policy in part by encouraging people to be on the look-out for unacceptable behaviour, to create a panoptic deterrent where the potential of behaviour surveillance is hoped to stop people from acting inappropriately. Free Pride's safe space policy is similar to what Rouhani documented with the Richmond Queer Space Project in how that group

recognised that queer space needs to be constructed with a set of ethics for the space that work to make the space queer (Rouhani, 2012).

5.4 Complexities of Opening up Queer(er) Possibilities Beyond Homonormativity

To finish answering my third research question, I argue that Free Pride's attempts to challenge homonormative expectations have created queer spaces supportive of non-normative sexual and gender identities. Pride events can be understood as a "privileged context of interaction between dissidents and straights" that are "probably the only social occasion in which this interaction is explicit as participants hold control of their means of visibilisation" (Enguix, 2009: 20). Therefore, it is argued that Pride events are less political when they take place in spaces already occupied by the LGBT community such as gay villages (Johnson, 2005). However, this overlooks how Pride events are also an interaction between LGBT people and other LGBT people, and therefore are a space for controlling visibility within the LGBT community. It has been argued that 'gay and lesbian political activism both sustains and fragments gay community' so that 'it is more accurate to think in terms of multiple communities rather than a unified lesbian and gay community' (Taylor, Kaminsky and Dougan 2002: 100–111). What alternative Pride events offer is thus the production of

> a community of performers, participants and spectators who are invited to take pleasure in a series of disidentifications from heteronormativity, from the commercialisation of aspects of mainstream Pride events, and from gay and mainstream consumer cultures more generally (Silverstone, 2012: 72).

In one of their blog posts, Free Pride states that in creating an alternative Pride event, it provides a space for the marginalised within the community "that affirms our identities and our beliefs, and addresses our continued struggle" (Free Pride, Blog Post A, 2015). Part of Free Pride's argument is that people attend Free Pride events from distinct communities that would not be visible at Pride Glasgow's events, due to the normative actions and practises of Pride Glasgow. As such, the group bases its successes, in part, on the experiences of those who attend. In my interviews, Free Pride committee members highlighted early signs of this success: "In terms of making differences in people's lives, I know that is happening. I have had people say to me that Free Pride was the first time that they felt like they were welcomed

at Pride." (Free Pride Organiser C, Interview, 2016). Free Pride attributes the welcoming nature of its spaces to the way the practises in the spaces are not restrained by the expectations that come with commodified and homonormative space. The organisers argue that normative expectations in public space work to police identity so that people adhere to the norm:

> A lot of that policing happens around identity, for example for bi people especially. That's what we were trying to get away from. We want you to turn up and know no one will make any assumptions over how gay you are, how queer you are, what your sexuality is, what your reason for being there is… It will just be comfortable (Free Pride Organiser C, Interview, 2016).

By getting away from this policing, Free Pride's space's aim to provide a "space for queer people to exist on their own" (Free Pride Organiser E, Interview, 2016). In doing so, Free Pride accommodate the open mesh of possibilities within the constitution of sexuality and gender that is not accommodated under the normative regulating at Pride Glasgow (Sedgwick, 1993a). Part of how Free Pride achieves this is through the talks and workshops that they hold. The 'frivolity' of mainstream Pride events arguably make little connection to the everyday life of LGBT people (Johnston and Waitt, 2015). The workshops and talks at Free Pride reforms this connection between Pride and the everyday lived experiences of having a queer identity by providing the space for these identities to be explored.

However, while Free Pride are happy that it has successfully provided space to some queer people excluded from Pride Glasgow, Free Pride organisers also discussed with me their concerns over whether the space was fully attracting and constituting the range of identities that they were hoping for. Free Pride organisers recognise their group does not reflect the wide range of ages of those who come to their events, which is something they find unfortunate as they fail to meet the needs of older Pride participants for example. They also recognise that they are a very white group. The low turnout of people of colour might be representative of Glasgow as a whole, which is a predominantly white city. However, Free Pride "know that queer people of colour are out there and just aren't coming to our events" and as such recognises a need to be more inclusive of queer people of colour, without being tokenistic, patronising, or assuming what people of colour might want (Free Pride Organiser B, Interview, 2016). Moreover, alternative Pride events have been critiqued for creating "an

elitist community of sorts that 'gets' the joke and works to exclude those who are not similarly enlightened" (Silverstone, 2012: 72). Therefore, although Free Pride attempts to be more inclusive than Pride Glasgow, it would be impossible to claim Free Pride as completely inclusive. Free Pride recognises that despite the best intentions all spaces have the possibility to be exclusionary to some people. For example, Free Pride recognises that radical politics can be "often academic, dense and not accessible to many in our communities," and so try to avoid having 'more radical than thou' politics that can "put loads of people off" (Free Pride, Blog Post A, 2015).

Free Pride also recognises that people may feel excluded from its event spaces due to the politics of the group, and the negative perceptions that surround alternative activism. Free Pride's organisers spoke of Free Pride being viewed as "a buzz kill" in comparison to Pride Glasgow: "At Pride Glasgow it is easy to go and celebrate and forget about the fact that there is so much more to work towards, so in contrast people see us as negative" (Free Pride Organiser A, Interview, 2016). The organisers received criticism from supporters of Pride Glasgow who asked: "why do you need to focus on the negative when we can focus on the positive?" (Free Pride Organiser A, Interview, 2016). In my interviews, the organisers asserted that they wanted to do both, and that the negative cannot be easily separated from the positive. This follows arguments that the anger of alternative Pride groups can paradoxically be understood as a form of pride (Silverstone, 2012), given that shame and pride are mutually constituted (Sedgwick, 1993b).

However, negative perceptions of Free Pride as being an aggressive group have persisted over the two years, exacerbated by the 'drag ban fiasco' of 2015 which reproduced tensions between the trans community and the drag community common in contemporary LGBT politics concerning gender presentation. Over the summer of 2015, Free Pride received worldwide media attention when Free Pride's trans and non-binary caucus was reported to have banned drag queens from Free Pride. Although Free Pride never actually banned drag queens, the misunderstanding resulted from the confusing execution of the trans and non-binary caucus' wish to prioritise non-drag performers on their stage. This decision intended to be inclusive by giving visibility and space to trans performers not usually booked on the Glasgow scene. Other venues in Glasgow had drag performers booked to perform on the night of Free Pride, and so Free Pride wanted to "offer something different" (Free Pride Organiser D, Interview, 2016). In this attempt, Free Pride can be understood as working

against the "diversity as usual" approach of Pride events which privileges the most visible and predictable forms of difference, by challenging what performances get prioritised in the space (Ward, 2008). The organisers of Free Pride felt that they were making decisions they "believed would help make the event as inclusive as possible" as the decision came from "listening to the trans caucus and their wishes" (Free Pride Organiser D, Interview, 2016). However, statements Free Pride organisers released online to support their decision did not reduce the perception that drag had been banned. Eventually, Free Pride put an end to the backlash by releasing a final statement that stated:

> There was never a ban on drag queens and kings attending Free Pride. There was a decision to not book any drag acts, which has been overturned. Free Pride now welcomes drag performers of all genders and gender identities (Free Pride, Blog Post C, 2015).

In this statement, Free Pride admitted: "we made a mistake, and we apologise" (Free Pride, Blog Post C, 2015). This mistake highlights the complexities of working to constitute queer inclusive space.

Free Pride is not the first group to face the complexities of resolving tensions between different identities. Scholars have studied other contested spaces involving the policing of gender expression. These spaces, including the Michigan Women's Music Festival, are usually understood as maintaining strict gender boundaries which exclude certain people, such as trans people, to affirm the identities of other people, such as lesbians (Morris, 2005; Stryker, 2006). The organisers of Free Pride recognise that in trying to affirm the identities of trans people within the group, they did not pay enough attention to the nuances and intersections within tensions between the drag and trans communities. In Free Pride's statement, Free Pride expressed having learned from "trans people of colour and working class trans people who support drag" because "without it, they might not have had access to trans/queer culture at all" (Free Pride, Blog Post C, 2015).

In publicly denouncing a ban on drag, Free Pride hoped to regain public recognition as an inclusive event and affirm that its space would allow for the constitution of all sexual and gender identities. However, there were still negative ramifications of the drag ban fiasco on the openness of Free Pride's space. Some members of the trans and non-binary caucus that

had made the original request for no drag performers felt let down by Free Pride's apology statement, feeling it was another example of the silencing of trans people:

> There were people that were not willing to engage with us anymore. Going through all of that to then actually allow drag queens perform, some people felt like "well, what was the point?" (Free Pride Organiser B, Interview, 2016).

As well as creating an emotional barrier potentially discouraging some trans people from attending, the fiasco also allowed Pride Glasgow to regain a narrative of being inclusive. In a statement released by Pride Glasgow, Pride Glasgow described Free Pride's actions as being "wrong and going against what an inclusive event should be about" (Pride Glasgow, Facebook B, 2015). Pride Glasgow further describe how it faced a similar choice about drag performance, but ultimately made a different, but correct, decision:

> As an organisation, Pride Glasgow had a similar discussion back in 2010 over how Drag could cause discomfort to people however we took the decision that Drag Queens and Kings play an important part in the history of the Pride movement and should be included within the event (Pride Glasgow, Facebook B, 2015).

Pride Glasgow aims not only to show how it successfully avoided making the incorrect decision Free Pride did, but how it made the correct decision five years ago. In doing so, Pride Glasgow aims to promote its event space as constitutive of the identities of drag performers who may still feel out of place in Free Pride's spaces. Those organising Free Pride argue that groups such as themselves who aim to fight the status quo will always incur a negative public perception by certain parts of the community, but they are confident that those who do come into their event space will realise Free Pride is not a negative space: "People who go to our events actually see then how much of it is about celebrating our identities. I think that's something that becomes very obvious once you attend our events" (Free Pride Organiser A, Interview, 2016).

5.5 Summary of the Main Point(s)

In this chapter, I have examined the discourses constituting the alternative spaces created by Free Pride in 2015 and 2016, to understand how Free Pride, given its understanding of queer identities, constituted its alternative public space differently from Pride Glasgow. Free Pride argues that radical politics are an important part of Pride events, and that for events to have a radical politics they must challenge the status quo and prioritise the more marginalised LGBT people still fighting oppression. Free Pride's activism in creating an alternative space with no entry costs, sponsorship, or corporate presence shows how it believes a radical politics to be anti-commodification. This is seen in Free Pride's aim to eliminate financial barriers to entry, and fund the event space without commodifying the LGBT people within it. Free Pride also further attempts to reduce barriers to entry by strategically advocating identity categories to ensure the visibility and inclusion of marginalised LGBT people. This is reflected in the group's advertising and organising. By connecting Free Pride's actions to the literature, it can be seen that the group was aiming to create spaces that challenged homonormativity and opened up possibilities for less restricted possibilities of being queer. However, I also paid attention to the ways in which Free Pride may have excluded certain identities by looking at the repercussions of the drag ban fiasco. In doing so, I highlighted some of the complexities of creating inclusive queer space.

Chapter 6
Conclusion
6.1 Introduction

My analysis in Chapters 4 and 5 demonstrates how Glasgow's queer battleground is a complex and sometimes contradictory conflict over how LGBT people are using and queering public space at Pride events in the city. As a battle concerned with different systems of meanings surrounding LGBT identities, and spaces, it has important implications for LGBT people in Glasgow in terms of self-affirmation. In this final chapter, I conclude the thesis by reinforcing the arguments developed here and summarising this development in respect to the theoretical framework, methodology, and findings from the analysis. I then discuss how I hope this thesis contributes to the literature, before outlining areas for future research.

6.2 Summary of Arguments

After using Peter Tatchell's question over whether or not Pride has lost its way to provide context for my research in chapter 1, I conclude this thesis by leaving us no more able to answer Tatchell's question. The answer is still yes, and no, and maybe, and maybe not. It is perhaps this ambiguity and lack of definitive answer that is precisely part of what makes this thesis queer. This follows Dadas' (2016) argument that the flexibility and messiness of queer methodologies requires such research to resist definitive conclusions. He argued that allowing queer methodologies to resonate with Markham's earlier arguments that "letting go of the idea that our academic projects should provide answers," will create "a greater freedom to build creative and compelling arguments that enter larger conversations, both inside and outside the Academy" (Markham, 2012, in Dadas, 2016: 63). But the point of this thesis was never to answer such a question as that posed by Tatchell. Instead, the purpose was to be a timely intervention into the current debates surrounding Pride events amongst academics and activists by outlining the debates over Pride's purpose as they manifested in Glasgow between 2015 and 2016. As such, the thesis sought to answer a different set of three research questions, formed within the parameters of a specific queer geographical framework.

The queer geographical framework of this thesis took a postmodern understanding of identities and spaces as being unfixed, multiple, and contested in geographically and

historically specific ways, to recognize a recursive relationship between identity and space (Nash, 2006). This recursive relationship comprises the mutual constitution of certain identities and certain spaces through the embedding of discourses in the space that produce expectations for who should be using the space. At any one time, many multiple discourses may be circulating in the area, but these become ordered within local power relations so that one set of discourses becomes dominant over the others. This means that those who understand themselves within the dominant discourses will have their identity supported in the space, whereas those who do not will be restricted and feel out of place in the space. This framework became the basis of how I came to understand Pride Glasgow and Free Pride's spaces. Conceptually, this thesis considered Glasgow's Pride war to be a queer battleground in which Pride Glasgow and Free Pride held competing discourses over LGBT identities that became embedded in their own respective event spaces. As Nash (2006: 2) argued: "the implications arising from the apparent relationship between certain homosexual identities and particular places is far more complicated than merely a battle over the ability to visibly inhabit and appropriate identifiable territories". Therefore, my queer theoretical framework allowed me to understand Glasgow's Pride war as a battle that complicated LGBT visibility in Glasgow's public spaces, and one that offered insight into two different sets of dominant and resistive discourses surrounding how LGBT people should be visibly inhabiting Glasgow's public space at Pride.

Following this queer geographical framework that understands identity and space to be recursively constituted through dominant discourses embedded in space, my research focused on collecting data that would pick out the contested and dominant discourses in Glasgow between 2015 and 2016. The goal of the thesis is not to prove that Free Pride's critique to be 'true', but rather, to analyse the different understandings of LGBT identities within the queer battleground. This guided the following three research questions that the thesis research sought to answer:

> 1) What are the dominant discourses underpinning Free Pride's critique of Pride Glasgow and the two groups' differing understandings of how pride events should be queering public space?
>
> 2) How does Free Pride constitute its alternative queer public spaces in light of its understanding of queer identities that frames this use of public space?

3) What are the implications of the constitution of Glasgow's Pride spaces in terms of expectations, norms, identities and possibilities 'of being' in the various public locations established by Free Pride and Pride Glasgow?

To answer these questions, my methodology was to build a case study in which I would identify and examine the dominant discourses embedded within Pride Glasgow and Free Pride's spaces. Halberstam (1998: 13) once described queer methodology as being a "scavenger methodology that uses different methods to collect and produce information on subjects who have been deliberately or accidentally excluded from traditional studies of human behavior." In that sense, this research might be considered queer in how it studies a group of queer people excluded for the usual narrative of contemporary Pride events. Following the Foucauldian understanding of discourses to be systems of meaning that comprise objects and practices, expressed through ideas and concepts, I chose three distinct but complimentary methods that would highlight the groups' discourses from the actions, symbols, and statements that create and are visible within their spaces. Through archival research, I collected press releases, magazines, and online output from the groups' that offered insight into both the history of thought surrounding Pride activism in Scotland, and the groups' arguments over what they were doing in 2015 and 2016. This was complimented by holding interviews with five key members of Free Pride's organizing committee, to further discuss their understanding of what Free Pride was aiming to do with its space. The last method, of participant observation, was used to observe and record objects and actions that manifested in the spaces of the groups' 2016 events. These participant observation notes were taken along with the interview transcripts and archival data to build a database that was critically analysed to pull out the dominant discourses in the spaces of each group.

While I cannot make conclusive claims over whether or not Pride has lost its way in Glasgow, there are a number of claims that I can and have made from the data I collected and analysed. This thesis argues that Pride Glasgow and Free Pride's different understandings of how Pride events should use public space can be understood through the examination of three main interrelated sets of discourses: (i) radical politics (ii) commodification, and (iii) exclusion. Discourses surrounding radical politics showed that Free Pride understands Pride Glasgow's use of public space to be lacking the radical political purpose that a Pride event should have. Free Pride understood Pride Glasgow's spaces as not being radical, in terms of

Pride Glasgow's space focusing on celebrating normative identities and progress already made as opposed to focusing on those still marginalized. When Free Pride constituted its own space, it aimed to change the status quo of Pride events in Glasgow by prioritizing the more marginalized LGBT people who are still fighting oppression. Discourses of commodification embedded within corporate presence, sponsorship, and entry costs were driving the lack of radical politics at Pride Glasgow's event and resulting in normativities to be constituted in the space that were exclusionary for certain LGBT people. Examining Free Pride's constitution of space within discourses surrounding commodification showed how Free Pride was creating space that aimed to avoid corporate presence, sponsorship, and entry costs. It also examined how Free Pride worked to fund event spaces without commodifying the LGBT people within it. Further examining these discourses surrounding exclusion showed that LGBT people who still face oppression, and who have bodies and identities unwanted in commodified spaces, come to feel out of place when Pride Glasgow focusses on celebration. In the constitution of alternative spaces, Free Pride strategically advocated identity categories to ensure the visibility and inclusion of marginalized LGBT people. Following all of this, this thesis argued that although non-heteronormative sexual and gendered identities achieve validity and visibility by existing in public, within interrelated understandings of radical politics, commodification, and exclusion, Pride Glasgow's spaces became embedded with homonormative politics that diluted this subversion of heteronormativity. Free Pride's attempts to constitute spaces free of normative expectations created spaces supportive of non-normative sexual and gender identities, and so opened up possibilities of queerer spaces and identities.

However, this thesis also aimed to follow queer methodological guidelines that challenge hierarchies and taken for granted knowledges, while taking comfort in the messiness of research (Dadas, 2016). It did so by paying attention to the power relations that constituted Pride Glasgow's exclusions, in order to highlight their contingency. In my case, recognising the contradictions and complexities surrounding homonormativity at Pride Glasgow led to challenging how my methodological assumptions regarding homonormativity were constraining my understanding of the spaces. By paying attention to the instability of dominant discourses, this thesis came to argue that Pride Glasgow's spaces supported more identities than the critique of homonormativity allowed (Warner, 2004). This follows Warner's (2004) argument that "queer research should be reflexively aware of the way it constitutes the objects it investigates." Particularly for me, this awareness meant having to

recognise the ways my insider position and previous involvement in the Free Pride group affected the data collection and analysis. But that is all part of the messiness that queer methodologies allow.

6.3 Contribution

One of the questions arising from the literature on Pride events is whether Pride can still be understood as an "alternative, rebellious, and angry consumer challenge to heterosexual, patriarchal hegemony" or if it has become too co-opted "within a more mainstream, commercial discourse" to achieve this (Kates and Belk, 2001). In answering this question, scholars have turned, perhaps sympathetically, to the spaces of Pride events to critically consider how Pride spaces may still be political despite this co-option (Browne and Bakshi, 2007, 2013). Other scholars have turned to alternative queer groups existing in confrontation to mainstream Pride groups, to see how they create autonomous spaces in resistance to the mainstream.

The example I offer through the case study of this thesis, is a different take on alternative queer activism. The actions of Free Pride, while in resistance to the normativity of Pride Glasgow, are more conversational than confrontational. They aim not to disrupt Pride Glasgow's spaces, but to create an example that they hope Pride Glasgow will look to and learn from to better disrupt Glasgow's heteronormative public spaces in line with the historic purpose of Pride. Although other scholars argue that mainstream Pride spaces are still political, and although I do not disagree with this, Free Pride's alternative space constituted in response to their critique of Pride Glasgow offers, in my opinion, a better understanding of how to balance politics and partying at pride events. Better is understood in the sense that it attempts to retain the celebratory party aspect of contemporary Pride without losing the radical political aspect of historical Pride. Free Pride does this by challenging oppression within the LGBT community by prioritising those who are most silenced within the community.

Free Pride, I argue, offers a new direction for thinking about and moving beyond the limitations of mainstream pride events like Pride Glasgow's in disrupting normative public space. In calling themselves "Free Pride" they immediately show their strong belief that (1) pride should not cost money or be influenced by corporate restraints, (2) pride should be free

from exclusion with no borders or barriers restricting entry, and (3) pride needs to be free(d) from homonormativity and the normative politics of mainstream Pride. If academics have considered the name of the "Gay Shame" events to be indicative of a new set of queer ethics and identities based on shame, then perhaps we also need to consider "Free Pride" as a new embodiment of the experience of being in Pride event spaces. Not only does Free Pride aim to create space free from restrictive discourses, it also aims to be freeing for the LGBT people in the space, offering a liberating emotional experience. Following from the Gay shame activists of the late 1990s that attempted to create a new community on the grounds of shame, Free Pride also focuses on building community outside of corporate and normative expectations (Halperin and Traub, 2009).

As I end this thesis I hope I have, all things considered, shone a positive light on the Glasgow case study. The actions of the LGBT activists, from both groups, in challenging and creating new meanings for Pride spaces should be commended for how their efforts are opening up new possibilities for being queer in Scotland. I would argue that I have shown that both groups' activism in Glasgow's public space has much to teach us about the implications of neoliberalism and intersectionality on queer space-making.

6.4 Further Research

One question that arises from the Glasgow case study is how the mainstream Pride event will react to the existence of the alternative event in the long run. Despite Free Pride's intervention in 2015, Pride Glasgow have seen the continuation and growth of their event in 2016. It is unlikely that the two groups in Glasgow will ever merge, or that Free Pride will ever become the dominant group. However, I hope that over time the more radical politics of Free Pride will blend into the mainstream and further blur the boundary between the two groups as time goes in. In fact, while a direct link to being influenced by Free Pride cannot be established without talking to Pride Glasgow, it appears that Free Pride's influence might already be being felt. The 2017 Pride Glasgow slogan was "Brave Everyday", with a new logo for the 2017 event being a rainbow coloured triangle, similar to Free Pride's logo (see Figure 6.1). That Pride Glasgow would eventually take up the values of Free Pride was certainly the hope of the Free Pride organisers who I interviewed. Not only do we need to understand that Free Pride's actions are creating an alternative space on the weekend of Pride, but so too are they trying to alter the wider LGBT scene and community within

Figure 6.1: Pride Glasgow's 2017 logo. Pride Glasgow's latest logo of a rainbow triangle with their 2017 slogan 'Brave Everyday'.

Glasgow to make Glasgow a more accepting and welcoming space for queer people, on their own terms. However, signs of future conflict between the two groups are also there. In April 2017, Pride Glasgow announced they were working with a local police force on diversity and inclusion issues. Around the same time at the group's 2017 AGM, Free Pride held a vote and made a formal announcement that a stance against the police would be included in their constitution (Free Pride, Facebook, 2017).

As the future of Glasgow's Queer Battleground is uncertain, future research could expand the case study and examine the ways in which the battle progresses. Further research could also occur to fill the gaps left by the limitations of this thesis project. The lack of interviews from Pride Glasgow was a barrier to being able to detail the systems of meanings working through that group. Although this could, in part, be achieved through archival research on the group and participant observation at their event, the data that could have been gained from interviewing would have certainly enriched the thesis. Instead of leaving a whole side of the story of the battleground largely untold, interviews with Pride Glasgow could have given the thesis a more balanced focus between the two groups, instead of leaning greatly on Free Pride's critique without analysing also Pride Glasgow's defence. From my interviews with Free Pride, it was interesting how their critique of Pride Glasgow spread to also being a critique of Glasgow's wider LGBT scene. As such, there is a need for more research examining Glasgow's permanent queer spaces to gain a wider understanding of how queer individuals and groups are inhabiting the city's spaces.

Moreover, while this thesis has been concerned specifically with the festival spaces of Pride Glasgow and the alternative spaces created by Free Pride, attention could be paid to the space

of the Glasgow Pride march and how it may complement or complicate understandings of queer space in Glasgow. Furthermore, future research could focus more on the activists themselves to understand how the spaces affect their sexual and gender identities. A potential area of study that came up in my interviews, which was not discussed in this thesis, is activist burnout. The concern of activist burnout in groups that aim for inclusive organising has been seen as an all too common end to queer activist groups (Rouhani, 2012). In acknowledging activist burnout, it becomes crucial to re-evaluate the role of emotions in activist work, and for the groups themselves to engage in emotional reflexivity to recognise where burnout may become a problem (Rouhani, 2012). This emotional stress on the activists that cause them to burn out not only comes from the pressure of organising the events with little financial and physical support. The constant feeling of being apart from society and the rest of the LGBT community who you oppose adds another layer of pressure to the activism that can be hard to cope with (Brown and Pickerill, 2009). Therefore, a future progress focusing on the emotional impact on Free Pride's organisers would be beneficial in shining a light on to this aspect of queer space-making.

Lastly, although there is much to learn from Free Pride's queering of space, their adherence to identity politics remains a barrier to fully reconciling their queer spaces to queer theory's understanding of the fluidity of queer spaces and identities. Fox (2007: 505) argues that "when we organise safe spaces around fixed "objects" and "subjects", we engage in a "toleration of minority sexualities" which does not interrupt the "totalising tendency" of heteronormativity. Therefore, in making its argument, this thesis also leaves some issues with Free Pride not completely resolved. The uneasy truce between queer theory and grassroots activism still needs more academic interrogation. Until then, it is uncertain just how much of the queer world needed to overcome heteronormativity (Warner, 1993), can be found in Glasgow public spaces queered by Free Pride.

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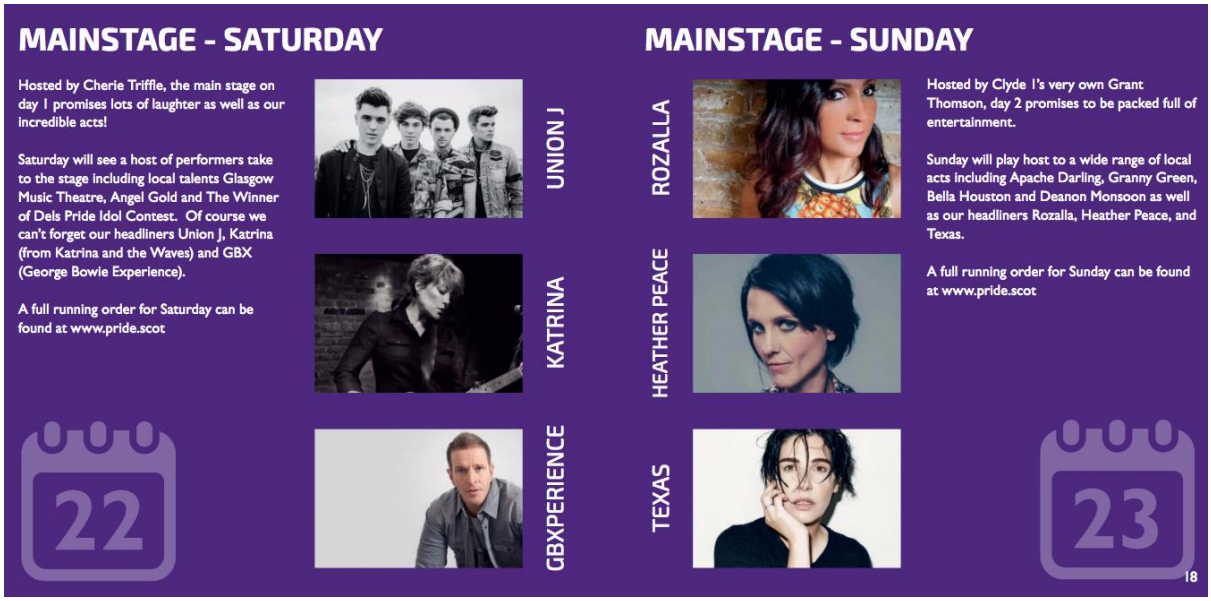
Appendix 1 – Pride Glasgow main stage schedule 2015 and 2016



(Pride Glasgow, Brochure, 2015)

(Pride Glasgow, Brochure, 2016)

Appendix 2 – Free Pride event schedules 2015 and 2016

FREE PRIDE
Daytime Schedule

PROJECT SPACE 1

2.00pm - Bisexuality Talk
2.30pm - Domestic Abuse Talk
3.00pm - Hollaback Workshop
4.00pm - Disability Talk
4.30pm - Asexuality Talk
5.10pm - Who Cares? Workshop
6.05pm - WestGAP Workshop
6.45pm - Trans Discussion
7.30pm - Sex Workers Open University Talk

Assembly Hall

2.00pm - Calum Ingram (Folk/blues cellist
2.40pm - TRANSmission (Guitar/Keyboard Band)
3.20pm - Jessica Secmezsoy-Urquhart(Poetry)
3.40pm - Liz Cronin (Musical shambles)
4.10pm - Ross McFagin (Spoken word)
4.30pm - Banana Tree (Super cute ukelele)
5.00pm - Elaine Gallacher (Poetry)
5.20pm - Ana Hine (Poetry)
5.40pm - David Chukwujekwu (Guitarist)
6.15pm - They They Theys (Experimental Band)

PLUS - Stalls ALL DAY

Project Space 2

ALL DAY - A quiet area with arts and crafts and queer books for adults and children

There will be an accessibility break in between each scheduled item

Appendix 3 – Free Pride's Safer Spaces Policy

Trigger Warning – This document will include mentions of various forms of assault including sexual, mental and physical assault. It will also mention discrimination of all forms as well as any other such behaviour in order to provide the appropriate procedures for dealing with such unacceptable behaviour.

Free Pride is a group of LGBTQIA+ individuals with a vision to address the commercialisation of mainstream pride, to remind society that pride is a protest and that the opinions of the LGBTQIA+ community are valid and to be heard, and to create a safer space that prioritises the voices of those most marginalised and is accessible to all. In working to achieve this vision, we recognise the necessity of a safe and positive environment. As such, Free Pride adheres to this Safer Spaces Policy and Code of Conduct. This policy is a work in progress and suggestions for alterations and improvements are welcome.

Every Free Pride event is a 'safer space' – this includes all online communication, meetings, events and any other activities organised by Free Pride. The code of conduct at such events is as follows:

1. Discrimination of any form is not tolerated and is in direct violation of this policy – this includes on the grounds of race, age, sexuality, gender, gender presentation, trans status, ethnicity, ability, disability status, class, survivor status, HIV status, nationality, language ability, asylum status or religious affiliation. Free Pride reserves the right to add to this list. Additionally, Free Pride does not believe reverse racism, ageism, sexism etc. (see above list for all included) exists and instead aims to amplify the voices of the marginalised and oppressed rather than play into the defensiveness of the privileged.

2. Respect one another's space both mentally and physically. Everyone should have explicit consent before touching someone. Harassment or assault of any kind will not be tolerated (this includes sexual and physical assault, humiliation, controlling or intimidating behaviour, verbal abuse, jokes or comments of an offensive manner (e.g. where the subject is abuse etc.), coercion and prevention from receiving support etc.). Those who adhere to this kind of abusive behaviour or support it are not welcome in Free Pride safe spaces.

3. Do not assume anyone's opinions or identifications (this includes race, age etc. see point 1 for full list).

4. Respect that Free Pride and any events held by the group are non-judgemental environments and do not put each other down or participate in unfriendly competition. Free Pride is a collaboration not a competition; therefore, members need to understand that any achievements are achievements of the collective and any unfriendly competitive behaviour is not tolerated.

5. Be aware of the language you use in discussion and how you convey this to others. Be aware of some individual's accessibility needs around verbal, non-verbal and written communication, and that not everyone can communicate in a normative manner some or all of the time. Try to use accessible, non-academic language and be aware that some individuals will have less experience and knowledge than others (however this is not an excuse to make offensive comments). Consider your audience's accessibility needs when you speak i.e.

speaking slowly and clearly, not covering your mouth when you speak, facing the person you are talking to etc.

6. The group aims to ensure all events, meetings and the spaces these are held in are as accessible as possible to all including those who have specific accessibility requirements.

7. Listen. Everyone has a new perspective to bring and as such should be given a fair hearing. Facilitation such as raising your hand to speak will be used at any of the group's meetings.

8. Whilst this code of conduct is a collective responsibility and the responsibility of Free Pride to uphold, everyone is personally responsible for their own behaviour and actions.

9. "Respect the person; challenge the behaviour". We are responsible not only for our own conduct but for challenging the poor conduct of others. Our Free Pride Welfare Officers and members are available to contact in order to aid in any matters dealing with a violation of the code of conduct.

10. Free Pride meetings are confidential. This means that no one may reveal any information given in the meeting, names etc. of anyone who attended or anything which has been said from the meetings without the expressed permission of other attendees. Reporting any violations of the Safer Spaces Policy and Code of Conduct is exempt from this rule.

11. Be aware of topics that may be triggering for some individuals and always use appropriate content/trigger warnings. This Code of Conduct also applies to any interactions with Free Pride or its members in their capacity as Free Pride members through any online communication such as email and social media sites including WordPress, Facebook, and Twitter etc.